University of Alberta

Ngenechen: The Green Deity

by

Omar Castro Gatica ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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06. October, 1995

No hay nación en el mundo que tanto estime y ame el suelo donde nace, como ésta de Chile, pues se ha visto en ocasiones llegar a cautivar algunos indios de los más ancianos y viejos, y por no salir de sus tierras, permitir los hiciesen pedazos antes que tener vida fuera de sus límites y contornos, y otros por sus mismas manos haberse dado la muerte, habiendo pedido antes encarecidamente a los que los cogieron y cautivaron, que les quitasen las vidas y los dejasen muertos en sus tierras y no habiéndoselo querido conceder, haber ejecutado lo que he dicho, con arrogancia y soberbia desmedida, antes que dejarse sacar vivos de sus tierras y ranchos teniendo por felicidad regar con su sangre valerosamente sus contornos.

There is no nation in the world that so dearly esteems and loves the land whence it was born, like this of Chile, for it has been seen on occasion the capture of some indians of the most ancient status, and not to leave their land, permitted themselves to be cut into pieces instead of living outside its limits and contours; and others by their own hands having given themselves death, having before asked emphatically those who apprehended and held them captive, that they take their lives and leave them dead on their lands, and not having conceded such request, they executed what I have said, with arrogance and pride beyond measure, before allowing themselves to be carried alive off their lands and ranches, having for happiness the brave spraying of their blood on its contours.

Pineda y Bascuñán, 1973:57.

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Ngenechen: The Green Deity submitted by Omar Castro Gatica in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Ruth Gruhn
Dr. Ruth Gruhn

David Young
Dr. David Young

David C. Johnson
Dr. David Johnson

This thesis is dedicated to:

La memoria de mi madre María Olga Gatica, con respeto y amor.

A mis hijos Ana, Eugenia, Gillian, y Omar (Andriés), por su ayuda y presencia en mi vida.

A mi esposa Polita Eugenia Alvarez González, por su abnegado y sublime espíritu de esposa y madre. A ella, con amor, reconocimiento, y gratitud.

Al Pueblo Mapuche:
digno representante de la
antigua y verdadera unión
DIOS-HOMBRE-TIERRA.

The Author.

Abstract

On their land, the central-south zone of present-day Chile, Mapuche society struggles for its ethnicity and cultural freedom by resisting the constant siege by foreign ideologies that, since the beginning of the recorded history of that people, has pressured insistently for profound socio-cultural change that would facilitate the integration of the Mapuches into the great Chilean society.

The persistence of Mapuche society in retaining its system of beliefs, and its indefatigable struggle to maintain its own lifestyle, are interpreted in this project. The primary intent of the analysis presented is to demonstrate that the Mapuche are a monotheistic people. This monotheism is based on the concept/value **Ngenechen**. As the exalted creation of the spirituality and religiosity of that people, Ngenechen, Mapuche deity, centralizes the Mapuche ontological / cosmological / metaphysical thinking; and attributes essence, existence, and transcendency to all the values of that society. Ngenechen-Mapuche-Land is a trilogy that, from ancient times until the present, is revitalized cyclically in the **nguillatun** or collective ceremony in which the Mapuches revive and nurture their ethnic-ancestral roots. The symbolism and significance of this great ceremony is analysed in detail in this thesis.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The present thesis has as its fundamental objectives to demonstrate that **the Mapuche are a monotheistic people; and that their belief in a supreme deity, Ngenechen, has been vital to the retention of their cultural integrity.**

With the purpose of attaining a better anthropological comprehension and interpretation of the concept **monotheism**, it is necessary to discuss the concept in two contexts.

First is the definition of monotheism. The terms used for the main ways of thinking about **God** are formed around either the Greek word for God **theos**, or its Latin equivalent, **deus** (Hick, 1963:4). Hick (1963:4-7) affirms that the word **theism**, or the strict belief in a deity, is one of the concepts most widely used as a synonym of monotheism. He defines **monotheism (one-God-ism)** as the belief that there is but one supreme Being, who is personal and moral; and who seeks a total and unqualified response from his human creatures. Finally, Hick (1963:7) sustains that the essential attribute that defines God is objectified in the concept **aseity** (from the Latin **a se esse** = being from oneself). Babcok Gove (1981:127) states that aseity is the quality or state of being self-derived or self-originated; specifically the absolute self-sufficiency, independence, and autonomy of God. This vital quality of God is synthesized by Hick (1963:7), who emphasizes that God is not dependent either for his existence or for his characteristics upon any reality other than himself; and God is eternal, without beginning or end.

As a corollary of the analysis of the concept of monotheism, Hick (1963:6-7), citing Paul Tillich (see his work *Systematic Theology I*, 1951), declares emphatically that **GOD IS BEING-ITSELF, NOT *A* BEING**.

A second context is the post-fieldwork experience / monotheism interaction. Smith (1979:34-5) states that, according to his own experience, the post-fieldwork situation constitutes a true crisis. To him, two of the essential aspects of that crisis are "placing my actions into the context of my own society to which I had returned; and evolving a more total kind of personal praxis." Here Smith proposes the vital problem of transposing / enveloping the knowledge acquired from anthropological fieldwork within the context of the knowledge of the great western society. Thus emerges a conflict between a cultural interpretation, based on a Greco-Roman tradition which structures and orients the knowledge/wisdom of western society, and the lifestyles of human societies that still survive concurrently with the great western culture. When the modern anthropologist situates/applies the result/interpretation of his/her observations and investigations of the "society of the others" to the "society of the We," he/she must use his/her language and a professional interpretation which situates him/her in a defined lifestyle and thought pattern; and orient all his/her actions as a member of "his/her society." This frame of reference separates him/her profoundly from the studied society, to which he/she does not belong. With respect to this assertion, it is necessary to point out that, in the specific case of the Mapuche system of beliefs, the interpretations postulated by some scholars of that culture do not clearly objectify the essence of Mapuche ideology. Hence, the concept monotheism, when applied to this society, is not consequent with the language of that culture. As a consequence, the definition and the cultural connotations of the word **monotheism** which I apply to Mapuche society must be interpreted as a linguistic/cultural projection emanated from our own way of thinking; and "clarifies" our comprehension and valuation of the Mapuche system of beliefs, within our own socio-cultural context.

Through the development of the religious, social, political, economic, and cultural bases that organized and structured the basis of Mapuche society, it is possible to appreciate the emergence of a system of beliefs centralized in the concept of **Ngenechen: supreme and only Mapuche deity**. Ngenechen has given that society the solid foundation that has permitted it to maintain its cultural identity, defining it at the same time as a persistent society. The history of the Mapuche people has registered the powerful threat of formidable enemies, which attempted to undermine the substrata of Mapuche ideology with the purpose of transforming that society into a society dependent on others that could dominate and exert total control over it. The two most notable enemies have been the Incas and the Spanish invaders, the so called "conquistadores," who tried to destroy not only the beliefs, but also all the values that until the present have sustained the existence, essence, and transcendency of Mapuche life, a life whose axis is Ngenechen.

Before continuing, it is necessary to clarify that the concept Mapuche defines two important cultural aspects. First, Mapuche is the generic name of five societies that in prehistoric times lived in southern South America (Chile and part of Argentina). Those societies were known as **Picunches** (people of the north), **Mapuches** (people of the land), **Pehuenches** (people of the pine woods), **Huilliches** (people of the south), and the Cuncos or **Cunches** (**cum** = dark color, reddish; **che** = people). Of the mentioned peoples, the Mapuches have surpassed the barrier of time; and today continue to preserve and to cultivate their ancient traditions. Second, the term Mapuche may refer to the language that in the past united all the mentioned societies; that language is known as **Mapudungun**. According to Zapater (1973:37), upon the arrival of the Spanish in Chile (XVI century), Mapudungun was spoken from the Choapa river (province of Coquimbo) (30°00' S to 71°20' W) to the Chiloé Archipelago (province of Chiloé) (42°50' S to 73°45' W).

With the arrival in Chile (1557) of the Spanish poet Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (1533-1594), there emerges the concept of **Arauco**, from which he derived the title of his epic poem **"La Araucana."** Ercilla (1980:231) defines Arauco as:

> "a small province of twenty leagues of length and seven of width, which has been the most bellicose of all the Indies; and for this, it is called the indomitable state. Let the Indians in it be called **Araucanos**, taking the name of the province."

From this instant the Spanish word Araucanos constituted the ethnic / historical concept (Moesbach, 1978:27) to designate all the societies that in the past were united, fundamentally, by Mapudungun. Thus, the previously mentioned five peoples "were baptized" by Ercilla as Araucanos which, circa 1540, occupied the geographical zone between Copiapó and the Isla Grande de Chiloé (Figure 1). In this thesis, the word **Araucano** is used as a synonym of the concept **Mapuche**.

Geographical location of the Mapuche. Geography, flora and fauna of Mapucheland

At present Mapuche society develops its lifestyle in Chile, in the geographical zone known as **Novena Región de La Araucanía**, located between 36°56'S 72°45'W and 39°20'S 72°51'W approximately. The Región de La Araucanía comprises the provinces of Malleco and Cautín. The contemporary Mapuches "represent 10% of the total population of Chile. In the Región de La Araucanía there are 300 000 Mapuches living in reservations (**reducciones**) of which 46.5% are concentrated in the province of Cautín" (Hilborn et al., 1979:2-3). The mentioned region has a surface of 32 471.8 km^2, which corresponds to 1.6% of the Chilean territory. The relief of the region of La Araucanía presents the four longitudinal belts which are characteristic of Chilean geography, that is to say, the Cordillera de los Andes, the Intermediate Depression, the Cordillera de la Costa, and the Coastal Plains. The most significant heights of the Cordillera de los Andes are represented by the volcanoes of Tolhuaca

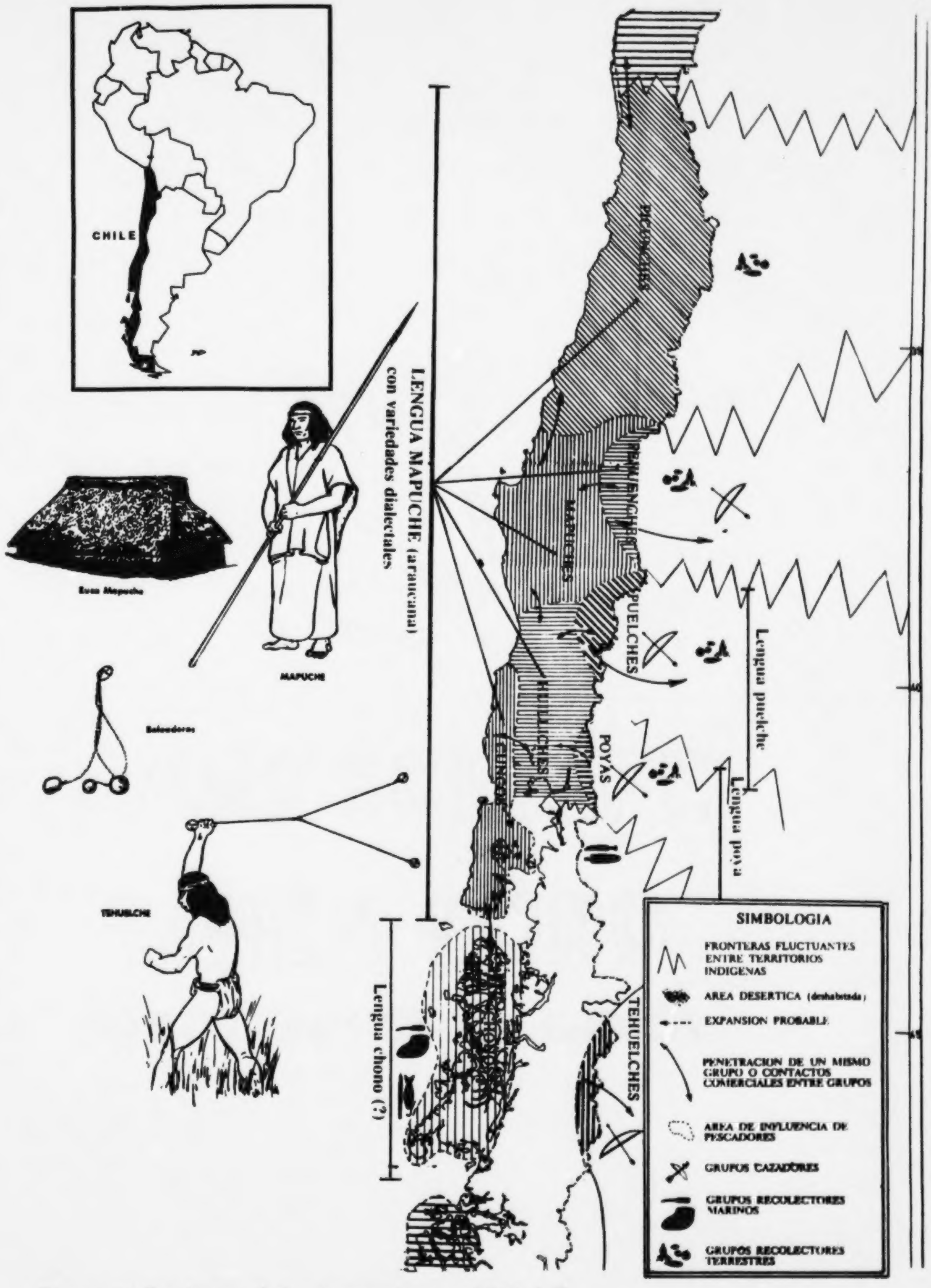

CHILE
Ruca Mapuche
MAPUCHE
Boleadoras
TEHUELCHE
LENGUA MAPUCHE (araucana)
con variedades dialectales
PICUNCHES
PEHUENCHES
MAPUCHES
PUELCHES
HUILLICHES
CUNCOS
POYAS
TEHUELCHES
CHONOS
Lengua puelche
Lengua poya
Lengua chono (?)
SIMBOLOGIA
FRONTERAS FLUCTUANTES ENTRE TERRITORIOS INDIGENAS
AREA DESERTICA (deshabitada)
EXPANSION PROBABLE
PENETRACION DE UN MISMO GRUPO O CONTACTOS COMERCIALES ENTRE GRUPOS
AREA DE INFLUENCIA DE PESCADORES
GRUPOS CAZADORES
GRUPOS RECOLECTORES MARINOS
GRUPOS RECOLECTORES TERRESTRES

Figure 1. Territory of the Araucanians c. 1540 A.D.
Source: *Expedición a Chile,* Larraín Barros, 1975.

(2 780m), Lonquimay (2 890m), Llaima (3 060m), Villarrica (2 840m), Quetrupillan (2 360m), and Lanin (3 747m). The Intermediate Depression has an ondulating surface which attains most prominent heights in Collipulli and Victoria. The flat areas are formed by fluvial processes whose resulting geomorphology fuses with Coastal Plains. Towards the east "lie the intermediate plains which increase in elevation toward the Andes, coming to form a pre-cordilleran plateau or subandean piedmont where it is possible to observe volcanic ashes. The **trumao** (a type of fine sand) characterizes the soil" (Aguirre Vargas, 1987:236). In the province of Malleco, the Coastal Cordillera or **Nahuelbuta** is a true occidental wall "that loses altitude in the vicinity of the Imperial river, becoming indistinguishable from the littoral plains and the smooth ondulations of the Intermediate Depression, a situation that is altered only to the south of the Toltén river, where it reappears with the name of Cordillera de Mahuidanchi and Queule. This virtual disappearance of the Cordillera de la Costa confers a considerable width to the Coastal Plains, which makes it difficult to distinguish the limits among them and the terrain of the Intermediate Depression or longitudinal valley" (Aguirre Vargas, 1987:286).

In Chile, the hydrography of the Región de La Araucanía objectifies the initiation of the **Región de los Lagos**. The provinces of Malleco and Cautín possess a profusion of rivers, lakes, and lagoons which refresh and embellish the natural landscape of the Ninth Region. The most characteristic rivers are the Imperial river, whose principal tributaries are the rivers Cautín, Quepe, and Cholchol, and the Toltén river which springs from the Villarrica volcano and from Lake Caburgua. With relation to the lakes and lagoons, it is necessary to point out that "from North to South lie the following lacustrine basins: Conguillío, Galletué, Icalma, Colico, Caburgua, Huilipilún, and Villarrica. In the coastal sector there exists Lake Budi" (Aguirre Vargas, 1987:291).

The Ninth Region constitutes "a transition which ranges from a mediterranean climate in northern areas, with six dry months, to a temperate rainy climate, with no more than three dry months in Temuco. With regards to temperature variations, while in Los Angeles the annual average is 13.8°C, in Angol it is 13.0°C, and in Temuco it is 12.0°C" (Aguirre Vargas, 1987:288). The Región de La Araucanía is characterized by a low and uniform annual temperature, and by precipitation every month of the year: **nido de la lluvia, pabellón del invierno** (nest of rain, banner of winter), is the poetic definition Chilean poet Pablo Neruda (1904-1973) gave to that region (Laborde, 1993:7) (Table 1).

The pluviosity level which has characterized the climate of the Región de La Araucanía allowed, in ancient times, the emergence and development of an almost impenetrable temperate rainforest, which facilitated the materialization of a prolific and varied native flora and fauna. Relying, fundamentally, on Augusta (1966) and Moesbach (1973), I indicate the names, in **Mapudungun**, Spanish, and their corresponding scientific denomination, of plants, animals, and birds which, at present, constitute only a brief summary of the exuberant life that, in the past, identified Mapucheland (see Appendix 2).

In spite of the normal periodicity of the rains that define the climate of the provinces of Malleco and Cautín, nature also confers droughts on that geographical region. According to Cunill (1978), during 1968 there was a great drought that affected the central-south zone of Chile extending from the province of Concepción (36°50'S 73°00'W) to the Valdivia province (39°50'S 73°14'W) (Table 2). That climatic regime was extremely rigorous; and resulted in a notable low in agricultural-livestock production, especially in the region of La Araucanía.

Chile is a country of volcanoes. Cunill (1978:30) affirms that Chile has 2 085 volcanoes, of which 55 are active. Volcanism has been one of the coordinates that has conditioned Chilean geography. One of the consequences of volcanic activity are

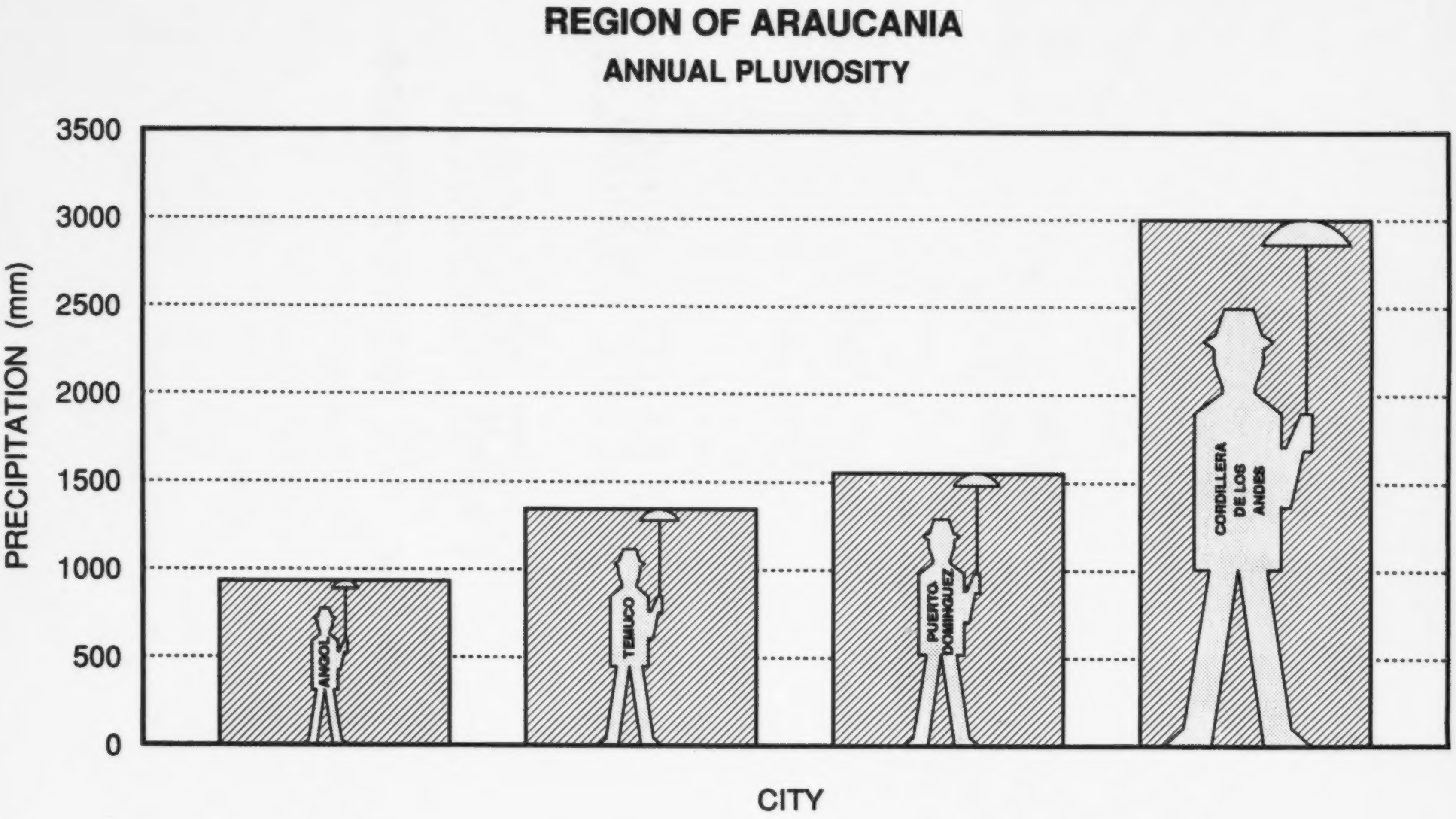


Table 1. ANNUAL PLUVIOSITY IN ANGOL, TEMUCO, PUERTO DOMINGUEZ, AND CORDILLERA DE LOS ANDES. Aguirre Vargas, 1987:288.

DROUGHT OF 1968.

PLUVIOMETRIC DESCENT IN CHILE:
CENTRAL - SOUTH REGION.

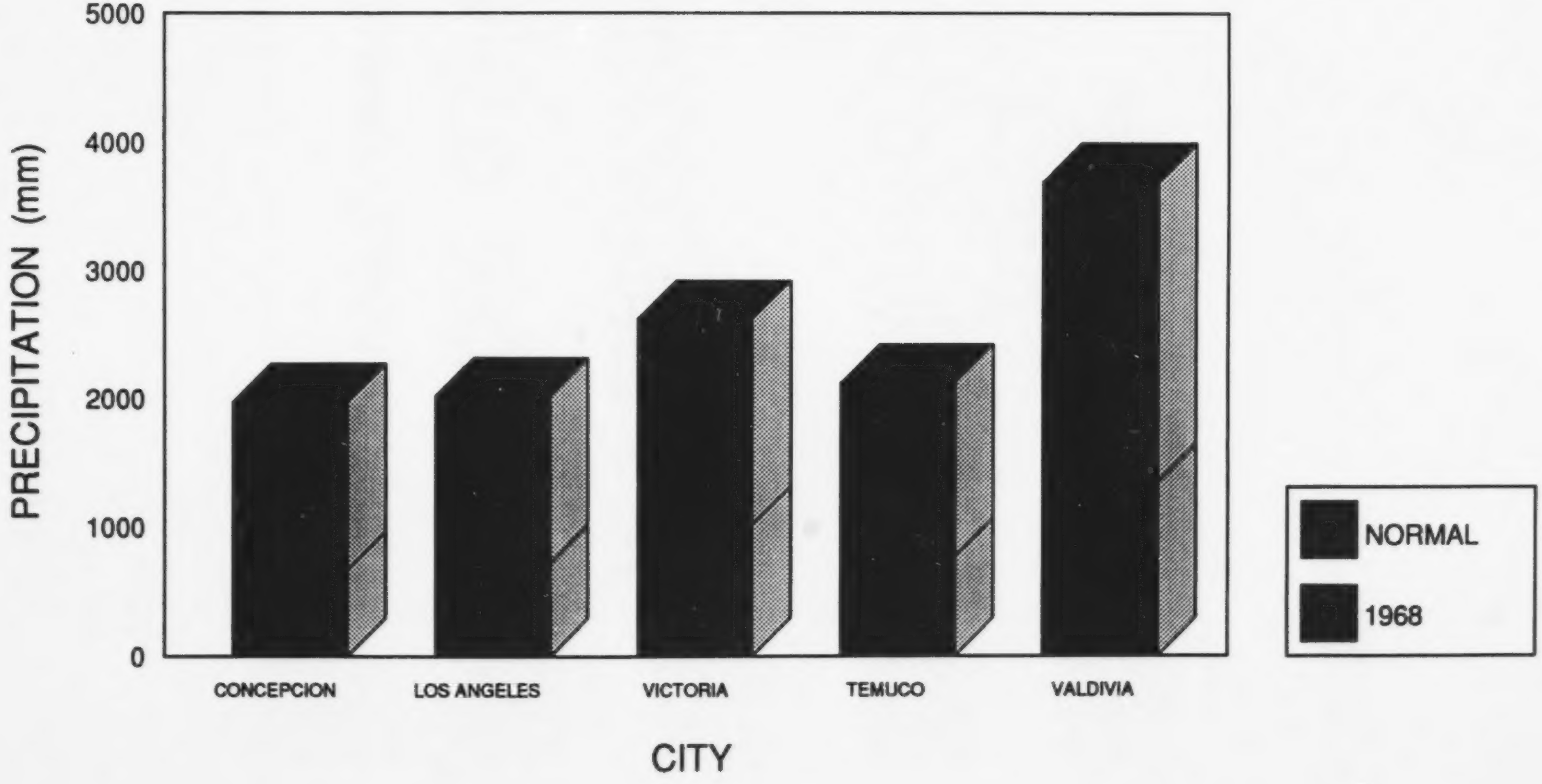


TABLE 2

SOURCE: CUNILL, 1978:87.

OMAR CASTRO GATICA - [illegible]

tremors and earthquakes. Decker and Decker (1981:14) sustain that the association between volcanoes and earthquake belts has long been recognized; Cunill (1978:31) states that seismicity is a constant in the Chilean landscape. The earthquake of the year 1960 was one of the most intense to have affected the central-south region of Chile. This brief summary of volcanism is synthesized by Cunill (1978:31): since 1543 there have occurred in Chile more than 15 000 seismic movements (Figure 2).

The level of annual pluviosity, and the quantity and intensity of tremors and earthquakes that affect the Araucanía region, have influenced the organization and structure of the belief system of Mapuche society. To the Mapuches, the lack and/or excess of rain, and the devastating effects of an earthquake, are the powerful motives to organize and to realize **nguillatunes** or praying ceremonies to their divinity. In those nguillatunes, the Mapuches implore Ngenechen for his assistance in solving the problems that atmospheric phenomena and seismic movements provoke in certain moments of Mapuche life; in other words, the harmony Ngenechen - Land - Mapuche society is cyclically revitalized with the nguillatun. Thus, that society has maintained until the present the equilibrium necessary to ensure the continuity of its existence and presence in the mentioned region.

Origins of the Mapuches

1.- "The origin of the first inhabitants of Chile finds itself enveloped in dense shadows" (Molina, 1978:87).

2.- "The knowledge of the most remote past of Chile loses itself into a profound obscurity which only the uncertain ray of tradition penetrates" (Poeppig, 1960:469).

3.- "The problems of the prehistory of Araucanía are still far from being resolved" (Mostny, 1971:148).

SEISMIC HISTORY OF CHILE

CENTURY/ YEAR	NUMBER OF EARTHQUAKES	AFFECTED REGIONS
XVI	6	ARAUCO, SANTIAGO, IMPERIAL , VALDIVIA
XVII	13	ARICA, NORTE CHICO, REGION CENTRAL
XVIII	12	ARICA, NORTE CHICO, REGION CENTRAL VALDIVIA, CHILOE, ARCHIPIELAGO DE LOS CHONOS
XIX	35	
XX:	24	
1939		CHILLAN
1960		BETWEEN CONCEPCION AND AISEN
1965		LA LIGUA
1966		VALPARAISO
1966		TALTAL
1971		BETWEEN COQUIMBO, VALPARAISO, ACONCAGUA, AND SANTIAGO

BRIEF SEISMIC DATA:

- FROM 1543 TO 1978
  - SEISMIC MOVEMENTS: 15000
  - EARTHQUAKES: 90
- TOTAL VOLCANOES: 2085
- ACTIVE VOLCANOES: 55

BASED ON DATA FROM: CUNILL, 1978: 30, 31.

Figure 2

OMAR CASTRO GATICA - 1988

4.- "Today documentary certainty does not exist, nor any ethnohistorical data, nor sufficient archaeological evidence to resolve the enigma of the origin and ethnic filiation of the Mapuche people" (Mora, 1989:7).

5.- "Who were the Araucanos and from where did they come and/or how did they spread themselves locally? a question that could only be solved by future ethnohistoric and archaeological work" (Dillehay, 1981:162).

The preceding five statements define the problem of the origin of the Mapuche people. There exist a variety of opinions, suggestions, and theories that many investigators and scientists have adopted to resolve the particular question of the origin of the Araucanos.

Archaeological antecedents

In 1648, Thomas Gage stated that the New World was originally populated by men coming out of Asia through the Bering Straits (Willey and Sabloff, 1980:17). Since the appearance of the ideas of Gage referring to the origin of man in the New World, the theory of an "Asian cradle" of the American population has been accepted for a very long time by American archaeologists (Bordes, 1978). Bordes completes the theory of Gage as follows:

> "It may well be that man crossed the Bering Straits with a generalized low level Upper Paleolithic culture, or even a late Middle Paleolithic one: and, once in America, exploded into an empty country in isolated groups which evolved each in their own way, without much contact with the others.... And the crossing of the Bering Straits may have been done by people at a different time."
>
> Bordes, 1978: v-vi.

The archaeology of the central-south region of Chile is in its initial stage. The queries referring to the cultural vestiges of the first human societies that populated that region have not yet been resolved. With respect to this point, Dillehay categorically affirms:

> "Up to date, a great part of the prehistory of the Araucanía region is known through a few studies of individual sites with mere reflexions starting from ethnohistoric data. That which is most important of any future investigation is the essential and vital necessity to approach Araucanian prehistory with a balanced program of reconnaissance-excavation and an ethnoarchaeological program based on the natural links of the problems of archaeological and anthropological analysis."

Dillehay, 1981:164-5.

The interesting and vital archaeological discovery realized by Dillehay in Monte Verde, province of Llanquihue, Chile (41°30'S 71°13'W), has re-posed the problem of the origin of the Mapuches. It is imperative to point out that Monte Verde is a place located between the Maullín river and Chinchihuapi creek: **Maullín** and **Chinchiwapi** are words belonging to Mapudungun. According to Moesbach (1978:154), Maullín means "to be full of water (the river)," Chinchihuapi (as Dillehay spells it) comes from the Mapuche words **chiñchiñ** = a shrub (*Azara microphylla*) (Augusta, 1966:23), and **wapi** = the island (Augusta, 1966:260). But it is better that Dillehay himself summarize his extraordinary archaeological finding with his own words:

> "Monte Verde is a wetland habitation site that contains well-preserved cultural evidence of a late Pleistocene society. What makes this site important is the presence of a diversified stone tool technology, a wood industry, wooden architectural features, the bone remains of extinct animals, and a rich array of economic plants. Of equal importance is the form and arrangement of the architecture and activity areas at the site; these reveal a social and economic organization much more

> generalized than previously suspected for a late Ice Age culture of the New World."
>
> Dillehay, 1988:177.

Dillehay (1988:177-206) suggests the following geochronology for Monte Verde:

Strata MV 6 = 13 000 years old (B.P.): the settlement described above.

Strata MV 7 = 33 000 B.P.- possibly an earlier occupation level.

Lower layer of SCH-4 (base of MV-7) = 34 470±530 B.P.

From the upper settlement at this site, Dillehay collected stone objects and wooden utensils "in direct association with the disarticulated remains of a mastodon. The lithic artifacts are 'choppers' flaked by percussion, grinding stones, and stone bolas that were designed to be used with slings. The wooden artifacts include handles, possibly branches and skewers to transport meat, and numerous miscellaneous implements, all made from local trees, **luma** (*Myrtus luma*) and **alerce** (*Fitzroya cupressoides*) (1990:21)." Dillehay (1990:22), summarizes the importance of his archaeological findings in Monte Verde, findings which have a vital significance on the antiquity of the first societies that existed in the southern zone of Chile, as follows: "Monte Verde is the first site in South America that provides detailed data of the wood technology of early man in his practice of killing large game with tools other than projectile tips."

The discovery of the Monte Verde site in Chile has signified the materialization of one of the fundaments of archaeology, which is constantly to formulate / reformulate ideas, methodologies, theories, interpretations, suggestions, and conclusions that directly influence the axial objective of that science; that is to say, the indefatigable / unceasing search for truth regarding mankind: its origin, past, present, and its future. This reflection is endorsed by Butzer (1991:138) who categorically affirms that the first peopling of the New World remains an object of controversy. The cited author refers to the "new antiquity" of man in the New World when he states that:

> "a great deal of work remains to be done in completing or publishing the research at Monte Verde and Pedra Furada (Piauí Province, northeastern Brazil, 8°50'S) before these sites can be considered as fully documented. Only at that point can professional archaeologists draw their own conclusions as to whether or not there is an irrefutable case for an early human entry into the New World more than 35 000 years ago. But Monte Verde and Pedra Furada are the first truly early sites that merit very serious consideration."
>
> Butzer, 1991:142

Dillehay (1981:158), proposes a chronology or cultural sequence for the central-south region of Chile which is based on the available archaeological evidence. "The nomenclature of the period reflects only the sequence of cultural development that probably occurred in the region and, in this manner, could at least be considered as tentative." The chronology or cultural sequences that Dillehay (1990:20-26) suggests for the later prehistory of the Araucanía region is the following:

1.-"Later Paleoindian", "Early Man" or "Hunter-gatherer" Period (6000 B.C.-4000 B.C.). In an archaeological survey realized by Dillehay and anthropology students of the Universidad Católica Sede Regional Temuco (1975 and 1976) along the coast and the low hills of Puerto Saavedra to Chan-Chan, Dillehay found projectile tips of the ayampitin type (in the shape of laurel leaves), many of which are made of obsidian, a material that ancient hunters obtained from the pre-cordillera region near Villarrica and Pucón (80 km to the East). Dillehay suggests that man already hunted along the coast for several millennia.

2.- Post "Paleoindian" or "Archaic" Period (4000 B.C. - 500 A.D.). A prominent feature of this period is "the projectile tips of lanceolate type which are immediately followed by points with wider forms, featuring a peduncle and well developed shoulders. The same scientist suggests that the last 1 000 years of this period are important, as there emerges the local development of horticulture. As a particular conclusion of the scientific analysis of the scarce archaeological evidence which characterizes the Archaic period, Dillehay emphatically points out that "the period in which agricultural practices were introduced into La Araucanía is unknown. It can be estimated that the local population had some knowledge of these before 1550 A.D., since it already possessed cultivated plants such as maize, beans, hot pepper, and others at the arrival of the Spanish."

3.- Late Prehispanic Period (c. 500 to 1000-1550 A.D.). In the last 500 years of the Archaic period, ceramics appear in La Araucanía (Dillehay, 1990:24). It is probable that the ceramics of Pitrén, found by prehistorian Menghin in the province of Valdivia, can be dated between 500 to 1000 A.D. This type of ceramic is, essentially, monochromatic, excepting some pieces that are painted black-on-red, and red-on-brown. Gordon found ceramics of Pitrén type in a cemetery located northeast of Temuco (Dillehay, 1990:24). According to Dillehay, the southern ceramics are bichromatic: dark red or black-on-white. Those ceramics are characteristic of the Tirúa period (Menghin), and the Valdivia phase (after 1500 A.D.). Another of the ceramic centres representative of this period is El Vergel, in the province of Malleco, a ceramic industry that is recognized by its great funerary urns.

One of the most notable characteristics of the Late Prehispanic Period is the presence of urns and funerary tree trunks. This has been demonstrated by the excavations realized by Gordon in Padre Las Casas (in the vicinity of the city of Temuco). The work at the mentioned site advanced the following results:

> "a double sepulture, with an adult individual interred in a hollowed trunk and another skeleton in an urn. The funerary urn was found within the funerary canoe. Additional artifacts

> associated with these funerary remains correspond to goods which objectify 'status': copper earrings, beads of stone, and pottery."
>
> Dillehay, 1990:25.

According to Gordon, "hollowed trunks belong to individuals of elevated social status, while interments / burials in urns correspond to individuals whose deaths had, probably, less significance for society" (cited by Dillehay, 1990:25). Dillehay (1990:25) declares that a radiocarbon dating of 1 280±80 A.D. reinforces the idea that this funerary practice was prehispanic and even preincasic.

Archaeology, ethnohistory, and anthropology will be the human sciences fundamental in attaining the answers to the querries posed by the origin, organization, structure, and development of the first human societies that existed in Chile. One of those societies is the Mapuche, which continues its existence and presence in the present Región de La Araucanía.

Recorded history: the Inca incursion

The history of the Mapuche people begins with the blood spilled by the Inca conquerors and by the Araucanian warriors who, according to Garcilaso, in the year 1485 sustained a bloody battle at the south bank of the Maule river. The mentioned author affirms that the result of that action determined the southern military frontier of the Empire of the Incas; that is, the north bank of the Maule river (35°45'S, 70°50'W). As Garcilaso describes that encounter between Incas and Mapuches:

> "Inga Yupangue sent his armies. He first sent ten thousand men under the command of general Sinchiruca. Two ambassadors of the Inga arrived and conveyed their customary errand, clarifying that their king had no intention other than the recognition due to

> him by virtue of his being Son of the Sun, and because of this they should have him and respect him as their lord. The promocaes (Araucanos), who were resolute either to win or die, responded to the ambassadors that the ones achieving victory would be lords, and with this, not waiting for anything else, they gathered themselves into a powerful army.... The battle commenced in which the promoncaes showed themselves so valiant, that even though the army of the Inga was so powerful, they defeated it."
>
> Garcilaso de la Vega, cited by Ovalle, 1969:106.

The stubborn and valiant resistance the Araucanos posed against the Inca armies of that era was based on the strong and vital necessity of maintaining their liberty. In other words, the Mapuches did not accept the domination nor the control of the invaders, thus avoiding being transformed into vassals of the Incas and having them as gods (Antonio de Herrera, cited by Ovalle, 1969:102).

It is useful to remember that the two fundamental objectives that guided the soldiers sent by Inca Yupanqui towards the conquest of Chile were to impose the adoration of the sun as central deity of the Mapuche pantheon, and to impose the Inca as the supreme ruler of the entire Araucanian socio-political structure. The Inca political / religious mission failed in view of the iron defense the Araucanos made of their land and of their cultural identity. In the past, the Mapuches did not possess a socio-political structure headed by an emperor or a king. Thus, the value **liberty** was lived and practiced by those indomitable Mapuches in **their land**. Concerning the imposition of the Inca heliolatry, the Mapuches refused the Inca or Son of the Sun as an exalted god, since they believed in Ngenechen, the Mapuche divinity that had already created the sun much earlier than the appearance of the Incas in Mapucheland.

The confrontation between the subjects of the Inca and the indomitable Mapuches objectified the southern political / geographical limit of the empire of the Incas. Dillehay and Gordon suggest that besides that geographical frontier, the Incas established a geoeconomic frontier which:

> "was not militarily occupied and did not belong to the formalized frontiers of the Inca empire. This frontier was composed of islands forming an archipelago whose state activities were interspersed, to the south of the Maule river, in the interior of the Araucanian territory."
>
> Dillehay and Gordon, 1988:215.

Dillehay and Gordon (1988:230) sustain that "the attraction of silver and gold was the factor that most intensely motivated the Incas to penetrate the southern forests (of Chile) and to extend their frontier of social and economic activities." With respect to this, there exist diverse authors who registered the existence of those metals in the land belonging to the ancient Araucanos. Ercilla, especially, upon describing Chile affirms:

> "Chile is a large province, that contains in itself many other provinces; let it be named Chile because of a principal valley thus called. From Chile they brought to the Inca great quantity of gold annually, due to which the Spaniards had notice of this valley."
>
> Ercilla, 1980:231.

Dillehay and Gordon (1988:229) state that the Inca / Mapuche interaction permitted the Araucanos to incorporate and assimilate into their system of life the following Inca cultural contributions: certain weaving techniques and textile designs, certain agricultural implements, the exploitation of silver mines and the organization of work, words of the Quechua language. On the other hand, the degree of Mapuche influence on the Inca civilization is unknown to us. As a consequence, the cultural and economic relationship that existed between the Inca empire and Mapuche society will have to be investigated and analyzed in future scientific studies based on archaeology, anthropology, ethnohistory, and ethnolinguistics.

Recorded history: the Spanish Conquest

Knowing the economic value, and its conversion into wealth and power, of the payment that every one of the Spanish conquistadores received for his services to the Crown, it is easy to understand the true motivation / objective that impelled the royal vassals in the constant search for new lands. In the specific case of Mapucheland and its inhabitants, this search was initiated with the conquest of the Incas (1532). Following I summarize the principal events that characterized the most relevant moments of the first one hundred years (1500A.D.-1600A.D.) of the contact between the Spanish and the Mapuche people.

1534.- Hernando Pizarro arrived in Spain from Peru with the royal fifth of the treasure of Atahualpa: "the arrival of Hernando Pizarro in the country, and the reports spread by him and his followers, created a sensation among the Spaniards such as had not been felt since the first voyage of Columbus" (Prescott, 1861:29). Carlos V "confirmed in the fullest manner all the previous grants to Francis Pizarro and his associates; and the boundaries of the governor's jurisdiction were extended seventy leagues further towards the south. Almagro was empowered to discover and occupy the country for the distance of two hundred leagues, beginning at the southern limit of Pizarro's territory" (Prescott, 1861:28). In the royal grant, the monarch designated as New Castile the lands conquered by Pizarro; and at the same time gave the name of New Toledo to the future possessions of Almagro. According to Prescott

(1861:28), "the attempt to change the Indian name was as ineffectual as the former, and the ancient title of Chili still designates that narrow strip of fruitful land between the Andes and the Ocean, which stretches to the south of the great continent." In this way, the assassination of Atahualpa was the bloody gate through which, definitely, Spain entered the history of the Mapuche people.

1535-1554. The royal retributions with which Carlos V thanked Pizarro and Almagro for their services contributed decisively to increase the rivalry existing between those two captains. To mitigate, in part, the ever-increasing animosity that "united" them, Pizarro and Almagro established a type of pact (1535) "in which they bind themselves by solemn oaths to the observance of what would seem to be required by the most common principles of honesty and honor" (Prescott, 1861:509). This unstable "pact of honor" unsettled Pizarro, who, fearing an almost certain negative reaction from Almagro, decided to send his rival towards the south; towards the discovery, conquest, and exploitation of New Toledo.

Upon his arrival in the Aconcagua valley (Chile, 1536 A.D.), Almagro sent Gómez de Alvarado towards the south; the Araucanians confronted him at the confluence of the rivers Itata and Ñuble, in a war action known by the name of **Batalla de Reinogüelén**. **The Gran Guerra Mapuche** had begun; it would not end until 1883 (Bonilla Bradanovic, 1988:66). Desperate, as a result of not having found the golden promised land, Almagro returned to Perú where he immediately initiated the reconquest of his legal and political rights as partner of Francisco Pizarro in the conquest of the South American continent. The military activities of Almagro and his followers against the Pizarro brothers ended in the **Batalla de Las Salinas**, in which the discoverer of Chile was defeated and made prisoner by Hernando Pizarro and Pedro de Valdivia (1538). Diego de Almagro was judged and condemned to death: "thus obscurely, in the gloomy silence of a dungeon, perished the hero of a hundred battles. His corpse was removed to the great square of the city (Cuzco), where, in obedience to the sentence, the head was severed from the body" (Prescott, 1861:127). Subsequently, in 1541, the death of Almagro was avenged by his son Diego, who, with the aid of a group of conspirators, assassinated Francisco Pizarro, conqueror of the Inca empire.

The Spain / Araucanía historical contact was initiated, definitely, in April of 1539, the date upon which Marquis Francisco Pizarro conferred the authorization and power to Pedro de Valdivia to complete the conquest and possession of Chile, a mission that Diego de Almagro was incapable of realizing. In a letter addressed to Carlos V, Pedro de Valdivia communicated to him that "I arrived in this valley of Mapocho (Chile) towards the end of 1540. I founded this city of Santiago del Nuevo Extremo (as he called it), in the name of her Majesty on the 24 of February of 1541" (Valdivia, 1970:27-28). In September of the same year of the founding of the present capital of Chile, the Araucanian **toqui** (war chief) Michimalongo set fire to Santiago, an action with which the indomitable Mapuches demonstrated to the Castillians their unbreakable decision to fight constantly in order to expell the European invaders from Mapucheland. In spite of the constant threat of Araucanian warriors, Valdivia continued to press inland into Chilean territory; and founded the cities - with their respective forts - of Concepción (1550), Imperial (1551), Valdivia (1552), and Villarrica (1552), settling in them a total of 270 Spaniards (Valdivia, 1970:184). In 1553 Valdivia founded Los Confines (Angol) and the forts of Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén. Pedro de Valdivia describes the land he "conquered" in the following terms:

> "it is the most abundant of grasses and sown fields and produces all types of livestock and plants that is possible to raise; much and very pretty wood to make houses; an infinity of wood for other purposes, and the mines, extremely rich in gold, and the land has plenty of it (Carta a Carlos V, La Serena, 4th of September of 1545)."
>
> Valdivia, 1970:44.

From 1541 until just before his death (1553 A.D.- 1554 A.D.), Valdivia distributed the **repartimientos** or **encomiendas** of lands and natives "because it was thus convenient to placate the spirits of the soldiers, and I separated the **caciques** to give each one who could serve him" (Carta a Carlos V, La Serena, 4th of September of 1545) (Valdivia, 1970:46). Those repartimientos originated a great concentration of property and power (CIDA, 1966:4) in the hands of a few conquistadores. Trivelli (quoted in CIDA, 1966:4) affirms that Pedro de Valdivia distributed nearly 5 000 000 hectares among hardly more than 40 soldiers.

The roaming of Valdivia and his followers in Mapucheland was constantly observed and maintained under strict vigilance by the Araucanos, who always waited for, or provoked, the propitious moment to attack the Castillians, be it in open country or in their own settlements. Due to the many war skirmishes of the never-subjugated Mapuches, Valdivia had to construct forts to protect the cities he founded.

Pedro de Valdivia described the Araucanos as follows: tall people, amicable, white; and of beautiful faces, as much the men as the women (Carta a Carlos V, Concepción, 5 September 1551) (Valdivia, 1970:171-2). In relation to the evangelization of the Mapuches, Valdivia sustained that he has taken special care in the treatment of the natives for their preservation and indoctrination (Carta a Carlos V, Santiago, 26 October 1552) (Valdivia, 1970:188).

After having been defeated in the **Batalla de Tucapel** by the Araucanos led by **apo** (highest commander of the Mapuche army) Lautaro, Valdivia was executed (1554). The death of the "conquistador" of Chile reaffirmed the war spirit of the Araucanos, who, guided by the clear and firm purpose of expelling the Spanish from Mapucheland, understood that they were capable of combating and defeating the powerful and well-armed Spanish army. This victory against Spain revitalized the ethnicity of the Mapuches, and provided renewed impetus to the persistence and cultural identity that - until today - define and characterize these people.

1559.- Tasa de Santillán. Fernando de Santillán, representative of the Crown, "enacted a tax for the labor of the Indians, with the idea of improving the conditions (of life of the natives) and to produce a substantial social and economic reform" (Jara, 1987:95). According to Medina, and with the purpose of "humanizing" the encomendero / Mapuche interaction, Santillán formulated the following measures:

"Captains going into new discovery or pacification of naturals (Indians) everyday perpetrate too many excesses, cruelties and play havoc on them. This is due to the fact that none of them has been punished as an example. To remedy this situation somewhat, I enacted the provision of His Majesty in which he orders the Indians not to be used as (pack) animals, and I have orders that no encomendero could have in the mines more Indians than the fifth part of the working Indians that would be in his repartimiento. To these encomenderos, ye shall take five parts of six (of the extracted gold), and the sixth (**sesmo**) shall be for the Indians that extracted and they shall obtain for their work, converted into clothes and into sheep or into whatever may be most useful and fructiferous to them. That the miner and encomendero shall keep account and reason of the extracted gold from the miners, and the **cacique** (Mapuche chief) shall have his **quipocamayo**" (Medina, cited by Jara, 1987:191-208). Here it is necessary to clarify that when Santillán communicated to the Araucanian caciques that they had to have a quipocamayo (**quipucamayoc**), he was referring to the scribe of the Inca empire who was in charge of registering in the **quipos** (**quipus**) the most important facts / events of the historical, political, and cultural occurrences of the empire, and at the same time performing the book-keeping of the agricultural, livestock, and mining production of the incanato. Finally, Jara (1987:108) sustains that the distribution of gold in sesmos, propitiated by Santillán between the years 1558 and 1559, formed a system that was in full force for the entire XVI century.

The dispositions of Santillán were one of the first serious and well-planned attempts to provoke a social and cultural change in Mapuche society. This assertion is synthesized in the thinking of Jara (1987:100), who sustains that Santillán proposed (for the Araucanos): "to create in them habits of work, a sense of valuation of obtained remuneration in exchange for work, a sense of land ownership, the organization of production, the attainment of habits of saving and planning for the future." In synthesis, Santillán postulated capitalizing, private property, individualism, and materialism as the best methods to "pacify and civilize" the Mapuches.

Between 1599 and 1605 the Araucanians destroyed seven Spanish cities: Imperial, Arauco, Villarrica, Cañete, Angol, Valdivia, and Osorno; the (Mapuche) rebellion made itself general from the Maule river up to Osorno (Bonilla Bradanovic, tomo II, 1988:29). Frías Valenzuela (1984:96-7) asserts that the great Mapuche victory over the Spanish army constituted the retrocession of the conquest which signified the loss of half of the territory until then occupied.

The first century of Spanish / Mapuche contact may be summarized as follows:

1.- In the first half of the XVI century, the search for precious metals was the principal objective that oriented all the maritime and land expeditions with which the Spanish Crown established a "golden bridge" between the New World and the Spanish empire. The construction of that "bridge" was in the hands of the conquistadores peninsulares, who used gold, silver, and precious stones as structure. The foundation of that "bridge" was laid on native societies, which, with hard, strenuous, and sacrificed work, gave it the necessary support. In other words, the conquistadores exploited the autochthonic population, requiring from it very hard work and, even beyond that, the payment of tribute. This situation affected, particularly, the Araucanos that lived to the north of the Bío-Bío. The Mapuches who inhabited areas to the south of the mentioned river also experienced the iron hand of the conquistador / encomendero; but there always existed in them the vital necessity of recovering their liberty, and the unbreakable conviction of expelling the European invaders from their lands. Arms, and the system of repartimientos or encomiendas, were the bases on which the Spaniards organized the control and usufruct of the productive energies of the Mapuche.

2.- During the XVI century, the Spanish Crown made a few attempts at softening and humanizing the conquistador / conquered interaction. Priest Bartolomé de Las Casas and Spanish legislator Fernando de Santillán were the most representative figures; the former, a defender of the cultural values of the natives; the latter, reformer of the system of exploitation of the Araucanos. The objectives, functions, and activities performed by the clergymen and the legislator already named were blocked by the iron attitude of the encomenderos, who, obeying the tacit orders of the monarchs of Spain to produce an ever-increasing amount of gold and silver, continued practicing the politics of "power by the strongest." In this manner, the encomenderos continued to harvest the final product of Araucanian labor. Thus, the precious "golden blood" continued to flow from the auriferous Chilean mines towards the ever-weakening throne of the Spanish empire.

3.- From 1550 until 1605 the Araucanos reacted violently against the Spanish, whom they fought and defeated in several battles. The Mapuche military organization permitted that society the attainment of two important victories: first, the death of two governors of Chile, Pedro de Valdivia (1553-1554), and Martín García Oñez de Loyola (1598); second, the reinforcing of cultural, political, social, and religious values of Araucanian ethnicity, which, in that epoch, were centralized in the realization of a common objective: to free themselves from the Spanish yoke.

The attainment of important war triumphs that in the past the Mapuches achieved against the large and powerful Inca army and subsequently in the war against the Castillians, was the result of the Araucanian political structure that at the time was in full force. That structure permitted adequate organization of their armies, and a reinforcing of their traditional ancestral values which guided the Araucanos in defending their land and their ethnicity. The political structure of the Araucanos at the arrival of the conquistadores is diagrammed in Figure 3.

The **ruca** or extended family household was, and is, the basic and primary socio-political unit of Araucanian society. At the beginning of the recorded history of the Mapuche people, elementary-family households were in the minority, because of the greater security value involved in living in larger groups during the era of Mapuche-white hostilities, in which times small household units would have been quite vulnerable to attack (Faron, 1961:124-25). Due to the intense and prolonged Spain / Araucanía war, the isolation of the ruca was not the predominant feature in those moments in which the unity of all the members of Araucanian society was fundamental in the maintenance and preservation of its cultural identity. Thus, the rucas were organized into groups of four, which constituted a **catán**, which was a small hamlet or village; while four catanes originated a **muchulla** or **lov** under the authority of a chief called **caciquillo** or **inalonko** (**iná** = beside; **lonko** = the head, the chief) (Augusta, 1966:70, 122). The inalonko, as representative of the cacique, extended his authority to the catanes. Four muchullas formed a **cahuín**, which was a social grouping of families or groups of families of only one lineage (Moesbach, 1978:19, 20). Eight cahuines formed a **rewe** or **levo**: family-structured hamlets or shanty settlements that today are called **reducciones** (Moesbach, 1978:19, 20). The cahuín and the rewe were governed by the **ulmen** (**ülmen** = the noble one: Augusta, 1966:290) and by the **cacique** or **lonko**. The **aillarewe** was "the supreme grouping to which the social (and political) organization of the Araucanian people evolved. It was composed of nine units, denominated rewes or levos" (Moesbach, 1978:19, 20). The cited author states that:

> "When the defense against the invaders required the common action of their entire race, the Aillarewes associated themselves into purely military confederations called **Huichanmapus** (**huichan**:

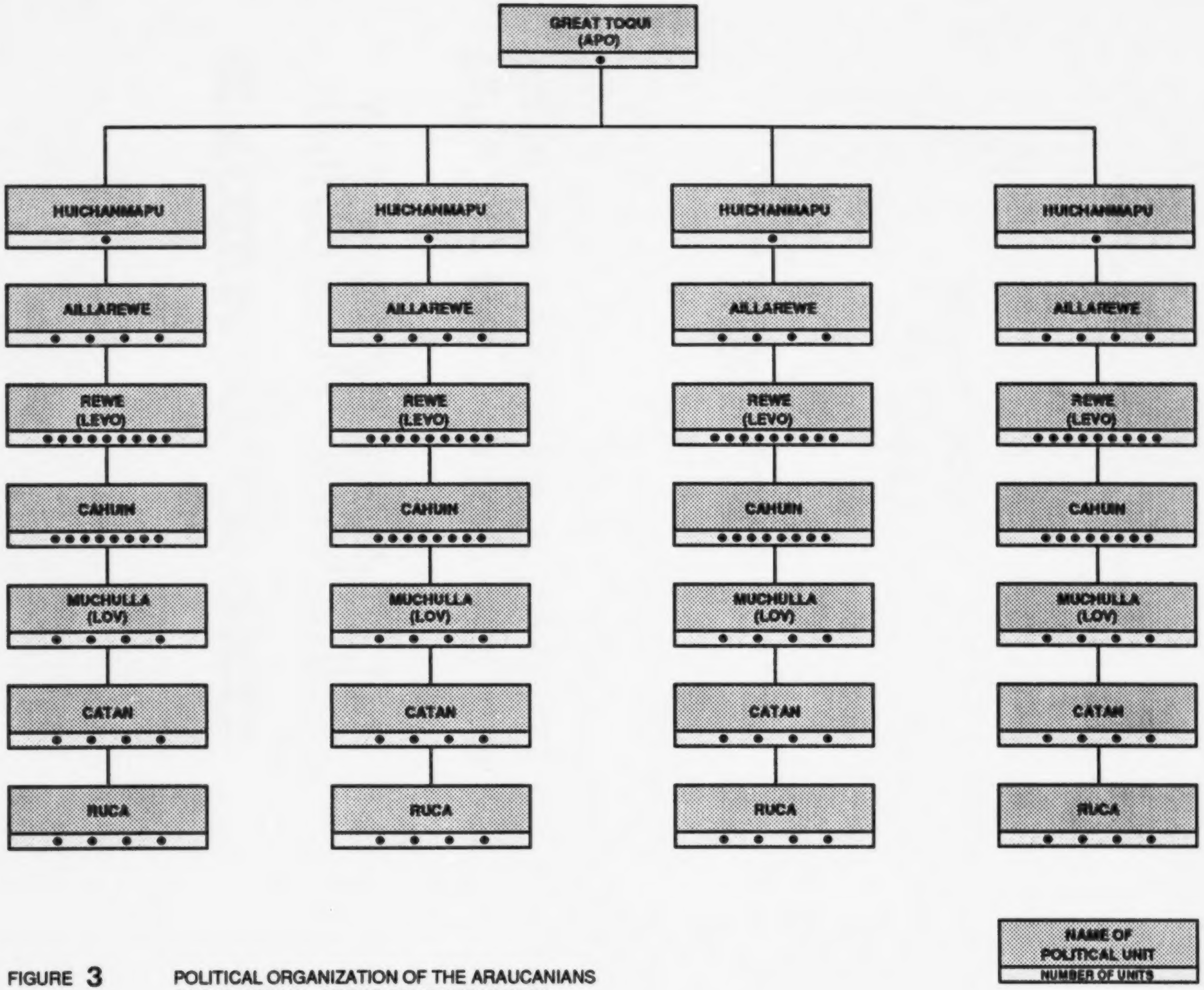

GREAT TOQUI
(APO)
HUICHANMAPU
AILLAREWE
REWE
(LEVO)
CAHUIN
MUCHULLA
(LOV)
CATAN
RUCA
NAME OF
POLITICAL UNIT
NUMBER OF UNITS

FIGURE 3 POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE ARAUCANIANS AT THE ARRIVAL OF THE CONQUISTADORES

OMAR CASTRO GATICA - 1986

> to gather together, to become allied; **mapu**: land = allied lands. Moesbach, 1978:113-14); only on those occasions a toqui in chief (**Great Toqui** or **Apo**) gathered in his hands the entire supreme command over the assemblage of Araucanos."
>
> Moesbach, 1978:19, 20.

In times of war, the aillarewe was directed by the **toqui** (**toquin** = to judge, to command. Molina, 1978:115); in times of peace, by the **apo ulmen** and the ulmen. The toqui was the only Araucanian chief who could use "an axe of porphyry or marble as a distinctive insignia;" the apo ulmen used a "cane with a silver grip and a ring of the same metal," and the ulmen a "cane with a silver grip" as an emblem of his authority (Molina, 1978:115).

The entire Araucanian political structure was regulated by a legal body called **admapu** (customs of the land; Augusta, 1966:1). Molina (1978:116) affirms that the spirit of political laws contained in the admapu was to regulate "the districts of each dominion, the succession of the **toquiatos** and **ulmenatos,** the confederation of the four tetrarchies (huichanmapu), the power of the supreme commanders (Apo) in times of war, and the right of convocating the general diets which are all directed towards the preservation of liberty and of the established hierarchy." In this manner, the apo, the toquis, apo ulmenes, ulmenes, caciques, and the inalonkos could not "extend their authority nor govern as absolute owners because the people, who are still not in a position to accept despotism, avoid their pretensions and they are forced to contain themselves within the limits prescribed by custom" (Molina, 1978:17). As a general conclusion, it is necessary to affirm that the entire Araucanian political structure was founded on the values of justice, liberty, autonomy, independence; and rights which, until the present, have defined Mapuche society as a persistent society.

Later historical events

1600-1700. The conquistadores understood that the system of the offensive war, whose bases were arms, torture, and imprisonment, could not subjugate, dominate, and control the Araucanos. As a consequence, the peninsulares decided to apply the method of the defensive war, which was planned and directed by Jesuit priest Luis de Valdivia, who, with the purpose of conquering the Mapuches "peacefully," proposed the following measures: "abolition of the encomiendas, pardon of the imprisoned Araucanos, the fixing of a limit to the dominance of the Spanish at the Bío-Bío river; the Araucanos now remain sole owners and lords of the lands situated to the south of this demarcation" (Fortín Gajardo, tomo I, 1967:417). But the defensive war failed; and the conquistadores were forced to pact "from equal to equal" with the Araucanos, a situation which gave origin to the **parlamentos** (parleys). Francisco López de Zúñiga, Marquéz de Baides y Conde de Pedrosa, governed Chile between 1639 and 1646. On 6 January 1641, the **Parlamento de Quillín** took place, whose principal agreements/ resolutions were:

> "Spain recognized the independence of Araucanía.
> End of the war.
> Delineation of frontiers.
> End of the slavery system.
> A territorial limit was delineated, called 'La Frontera' which was formed by the rivers Biobío and Laja. The Araucanos would remain living from the Biobío to the south.
> The Mapuches would return the Spanish captives.
> The natives would permit the passage of missionaries through Mapucheland."
>
> Bonilla Bradanovic, tomo II, 1988:127-30.

The agreements of the parlamentos were violated on many occasions, which resulted in Araucanian upheavals which continued to threaten the success of the conquest. During the government of Antonio de Acuña y Cabrera (1650-1655), the Mapuches realized "a general revolt that ended with the expulsion of the Spanish-Criollos (descendants of the Spaniards born in Chile) to the north of the Biobío" (Bonilla Bradanovic, tomo II, 1988:150). Amidst the bustle of the war skirmishes, the Jesuit and Franciscan priests constituted the living nexus between Spain and Araucanía. From the evangelization activities realized by the mentioned religious men, there emerged the creation of missions in diverse points of the Araucanian territory, particularly in Boroa, Repocura, Tucapel, Mulchén, Renaico, and others (Bonilla Bradanovich, tomo II, 1988:171). Those missions represented the living thought of Father Luis de Valdivia, who proposed the evangelization of the Mapuches as the best manner of pacifying and incorporating them to the Spanish system of life.

Bonilla Bradanovich (tomo II, 1988:186) affirms that with the system of parlamentos, little by little the Castillians introduced themselves in the Mapuche social and cultural way of life, a situation that developed into a "relation more complex and dynamic that propitiated a higher stability and peace among the human groups (European / Mapuches) involved in frontier contacts" (Casanova Guarda, 1987:11).

Between 1700 and 1800, the Mapuches continued to fight for their land and their liberty, thus detaining the advance of the conquistadores to no farther south than the river Bío-Bío. In 1774, governor Agustín de Jáurequi (1773-1780) proposed that:

> "Each one of the four 'butalmapus' (huichanmapu) of Araucanía should maintain in Santiago an ambassador supported by the king. This event was a new acknowledgement of the Araucanía state, already accepted by the Marquis de Baides in Las Paces de Quillín (1641). Spain recognized the Araucanian power as a nation." Bonilla Bradanovic, tomo II, 1988:203.

1800-Present. The XIX century marks the initiation of the alienation , domination, and control of Mapucheland; and at the same time, the emergence of the imperative necessity of solving the indigenous problem of Chile. Since 1823 until the present, governments have proposed plans and programmes to, definitely, incorporate the Mapuches into the Chilean state. This integration would eliminate forever the problem that, according to Dyck (1985:14), resides in "the demonstrated persistence of indigenous peoples in resisting assimilation and opposing unpopular government initiatives," a situation that "poses formidable problems for national governments in the future, difficulties of which government leaders are becoming aware."

Between 1800 and 1900, the Araucanian people lived events that, until today, have conditioned and limited Mapuche life: I am referring to the endoconquista, colonization, land tenure, and the development of an agricultural subsistence economy.

Endoconquista. The result of the "conquest at home" that the Chilean state carried out between the years 1850 and 1883 was the submission or "pacification" of the Mapuches.

This domination and pacifying of the Araucanos was realized by Chilean soldiers, who, at that time, used the repeating rifle in the decisive Chilean victory against the arms of the Mapuches. Relative to the endoconquista, Bonilla Bradanovic sustains that:

> "On the 31 of September of 1882, the last parlamento was celebrated, with the caciques who arrived in the plains of Putué preceded by three great Chilean flags (see Figure 73): the **'Gran Guerra Mapuche'** had ended. The forts of Palguín and Neuquén were founded, and on the 27 of February (1883) that of Pucón, and then, in March, that of Cunco."
>
> Bonilla Bradanovic, tomo II, 1988:325-7 (Figure 4).

Here it is necessary to point out that the long and hard war the Araucanos waged against Spain had ended in 1824 with the assassination of Juan Manuel de Pico. With respect to this event, Bonilla Bradanovic (tomo II, 1988:274) states that "three centuries before, the head of Almagro had been exposed in Cuzco, the first Spaniard to arrive in Chile. Now, the one belonging to the last Spanish captain (Pico) was exhibited in Concepción and Yumbel."

It is necessary to point out that the triumph of the Chilean armed forces over the Araucanian armies defined the success of the endoconquista which permitted the Chilean government to initiate, definitely, the colonization of Mapucheland. The first legal attempt which gave the initial impetus to the mentioned colonization was the law of the 4th of August of 1871, with which "the alienation and mortgage of indigenous property was prohibited to avoid their ruin and exploitation" (Bonilla Bradanovic, tomo II, 1988:327). The same author sustains that:

> "In 1873, 1875, and 1876 auctions of fiscal properties were carried out in Araucanía to root national and foreign settlers; thus, since 1883, there was an influx of Spanish, Swiss, German, etc."
>
> Bonilla Bradanovic, tomo II, 1988:327 (Table 3).

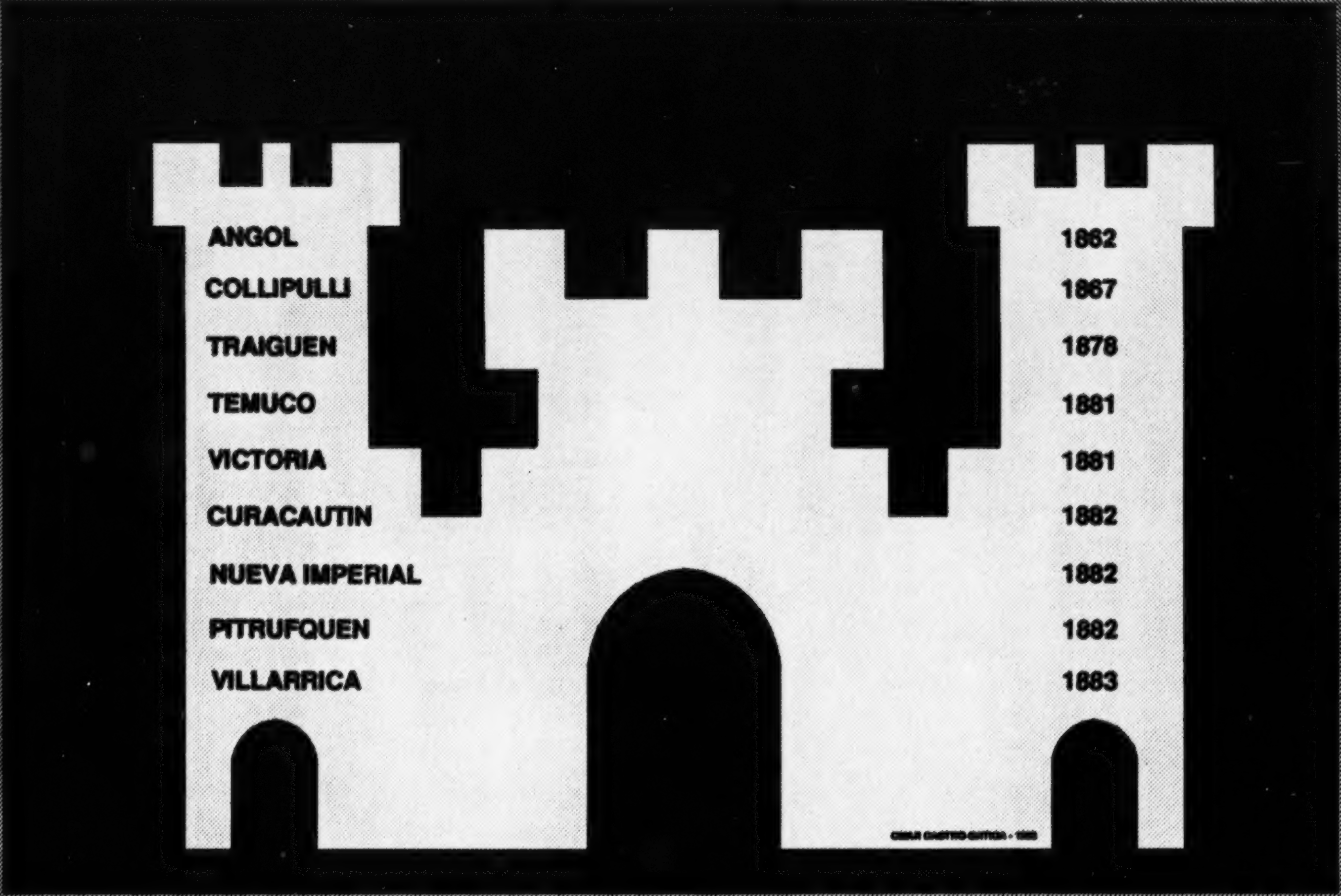
According to Frías Valenzuela (1984:379):

> "Emigration stimulated by the state ceased, soon to be replaced by spontaneous emigration. The auctions or sales of fiscal lands at low prices (5 pesos per hectare in 1898) attracted settlers from other zones of the country and contributed to populate the ancient Araucanía."

The Mapuche version of the beginnings of the colonization is provided to us by Huenun Ñamku, who strongly declares:

> "When I was a little older we moved to Anacomoi - we had to

REGION OF ARAUCANIA. CITIES ORIGINATING FROM FORTIFICATIONS



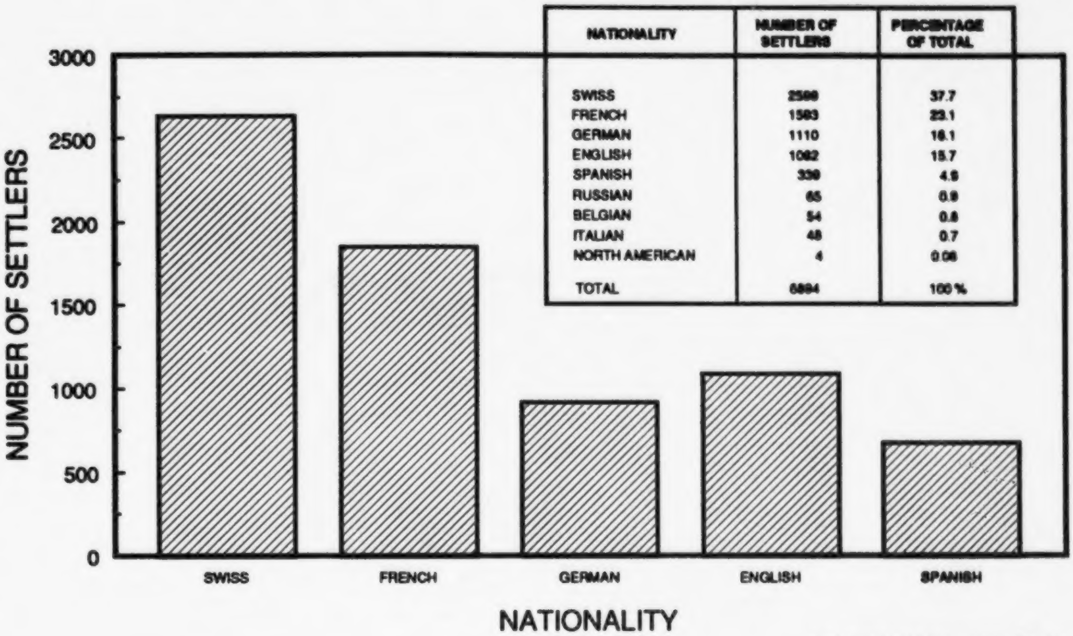
ANGOL	1862
COLLIPULLI	1867
TRAIGUEN	1878
TEMUCO	1881
VICTORIA	1881
CURACAUTIN	1882
NUEVA IMPERIAL	1882
PITRUFQUEN	1882
VILLARRICA	1883

FIGURE 4

SOURCE: CUNILL, 1979: 180, 181, 182.

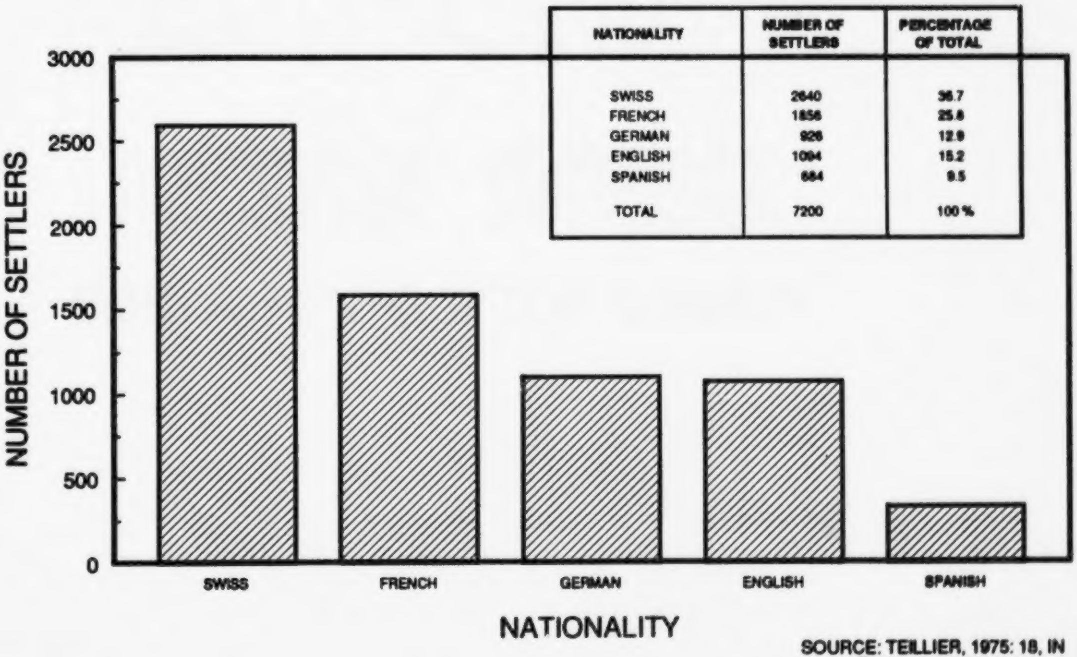
+2

Table 3 COLONIZATION OF THE ARAUCANIA REGION 1890



NATIONALITY	NUMBER OF SETTLERS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
SWISS	2599	37.7
FRENCH	1593	23.1
GERMAN	1110	16.1
ENGLISH	1082	15.7
SPANISH	339	4.9
RUSSIAN	65	0.9
BELGIAN	54	0.8
ITALIAN	48	0.7
NORTH AMERICAN	4	0.06
TOTAL	6894	100 %

SOURCE: CUNILL, 1978: 22, 23



NATIONALITY	NUMBER OF SETTLERS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
SWISS	2640	36.7
FRENCH	1856	25.8
GERMAN	926	12.9
ENGLISH	1094	15.2
SPANISH	684	9.5
TOTAL	7200	100 %

SOURCE: TEILLIER, 1975: 18, IN
DIEZ AÑOS EN ARAUCANIA,
1889 - 1899 (VERNIORY)

> leave Chinquil for it was impossible to live there any longer; fundo owners, both Chilean and those from other countries, were robbing us of our land; they were moving in upon us everywhere."
>
> Quoted in Hilger, 1966:113.

Land ownership

Colonization had a "natural" consequence: the division / possession of Mapuche land. In 1866, the Chilean government dictated a law establishing a "**Comisión Radicatora de Indígenas**, composed of three engineers, a judge, and a 'protector' of the natives, who did not protect the Mapuches due to defects in the law or for other reasons" (CIDA, 1966:80). Bonilla Bradanovic (tomo II, 1988:327) affirms that in 1874, dominion titles were drawn up and provided to the aborigines through the labor of a special technical commission. In this form:

> "Toward the end of the 19th century, reserves or **reducciones** were established. The reserve lands were dispersed and of poor quality. The best lands were given to German, Italian and other foreign settlers. While the European colonists were given 500 hectares, each Mapuche was allowed only 6 hectares."
>
> Hilborn et al., 1979:3.

In 1931 and 1961 laws referring to the Mapuche communities were promulgated in which it was established: "to delimit the state property from the indigenous property and to concede, in name of the republic, the dominion to the occupants of the same **(títulos de merced)**" (Quezada, in CIDA, 1966:80). Palacios et al. (in CIDA, 1966:80) sustain that "the title of merced was provided to communities, and as an exception to a person or family." Thus, all the members of the favored community with one of those titles constituted themselves into "communitary co-proprietors. In this case, the merced de tierra was identified by the name of the cacique (**Reducción Antonio Coñuepán, Reducción Segundo Calbul, etc.**)" (CIDA, 1966:80).

Relating to the division / possession of Mapucheland, the two following assertions summarize the situation of land tenure from 1884 until 1949:

> "Between the granting of the first title of **merced de tierras** in February of 1884, in Malleco, and the last in November of 1919, in Cautín, 3 078 titles of merced were conceded, with an approximate extent of 475 000 hectares, which favored nearly 78 000 persons."
>
> CIDA, 1966:81.

> "Starting in 1931, the community lands began to be fragmented in legal terms and until 1949, 793 reducciones had been divided with some 127 000 hectares, giving rise to 13 778 hijuelas with an average of 9 hectares per hijuela and family."
>
> CIDA, 1966:81-2.

Since 1949 until the present, Mapuche society continues to suffer the constant threat of alienation of the land in which that society continues to exist, preserving and cultivating its traditions.

> "Over the years, the Mapuches have had to be constantly on guard against attempts to confiscate their land. Through various means, they have gradually lost their land base so that today many possess less than one hectare of land, which is barely adequate to sustain them."
>
> Hilborn et al., 1979:3.

At present, Mapuche reducciones are formed by:

> "the grouping of numerous families, generally related. Each reducción is independent of the neighboring ones. Within each

> reducción Mapuche families work a parcel of land whose magnitude is sanctioned by the group or community in the traditional form."
>
> CIDA, 1966:88 (Figure 5).

In the reducciones, the Mapuches have revived the two traditional systems with which they organize and realize many types of work: the **mingaco** (**minkan** = to search for people for the work and to pay with food and beverage; Augusta, 1966:150) and the **vuelta de mano** or labor exchange (retribution: **TU ME AYUDAS,** therefore **YO TE AYUDARE**). The two mentioned systems are true "social events, in which work and diversion are mixed, particularly in the case of the mingacos, which consist of a massive rendering of services which is not remunerated with currency; however, it generates the obligation of collaborating in similar fashion in the future, and besides gives the right to participate in a great **fiesta** at the end of the task" (CIDA, 1966: 90-1). This interaction / humanization / socialization that characterizes the two traditional forms of cooperation among the Mapuches in the realization of tasks (agricultural and communitary), clearly demonstrate that, historically and culturally, to that society work has not been a **divine punishment**, but the objectivation of the vital human values of solidarity, participation, and reciprocity, values that until today the Mapuche people preserve and practice (see Figure 13).

In the specific case of the mingaco, all the members of the organizing family actively participate, thus reaffirming nexus of union among themselves, and reinforcing, at the same time, social and cultural interactions with all the participants in the work which is realized. In this manner, the mingaco and the vuelta de mano comply, besides, with the function of constituting themselves into "living lecture halls," in which the new Mapuche generations learn to value the importance of a harmonious social coexistence.

Subsistence economy. In the reducciones, the great majority lives at levels of subsistence (CIDA, 1966:84). This affirmation reflects the present state of Mapuche economy which is based, fundamentally, on working the land. For Mapuche society, agriculture is the source of food production; production that in many cases reaches only the basic level of sustenance. According to CIDA (1966:84), "the principal obstacle (in the exploitation of the land) rests on the lack of exploitation capital, on the lack of irrigation, and on the reduced size of exploited property." This situation, and the incorporation of the Mapuche people to the capitalist system, has forced the Mapuches to develop other activities. Relating to this, CIDA (1966:84) informs us that "livestock represents an important item in the economy of Mapuche exploitations: ovines, porcines, etc." Another category is art, in which textiles and silversmithing artifacts (CIDA, 1966:84) are noteworthy. With the commercialization of agricultural and **artisanal** products, the Mapuches objectified the interaction producer / vendor - buyer / usuary which identifies any commercial transaction of capitalistic character in which currency is value universally acceptable in exchange (REA. 1984:57). This situation has originated and stimulated a close relationship between specialization in production (the 'division of labor') and the use of money. Mapuche society has been forced to practice specialization of labor as their socio-economic response most adequate to the requirements of the "modern world." Hence, in some reducciones it is possible to observe the existence of specializations related, preferentially, with the production of artistic objects, which possess great aesthetic quality which is appreciated and bought especially by tourists (Figures 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10).

The vital problem Mapuche society confronts at present is that of land tenure. Dyck (1985:7-8) states that "aboriginal land claims stand not only for a different set of economic interests but also for the protection of their culture and community." From the beginnings of historical times of the Araucanian people, the intimate interaction Mapuche / Land has been related with the political and social vicissitudes of societies, alien to the Mapuches, which have tried to integrate that people to the main social stream prominent at certain times: in the past, the conquistadores; at present, the Chilean state. With respect to this, Dyck (1985:13) suggests that:

> "The implications of asserting an indigenous status rather than being deemed members of an ethnic minority or a disadvantaged sector of the population, are twofold:
>
> 1.- Insistence upon indigenous status - '**WE WERE HERE FIRST!**' - permits the formulation of arguments based on the legal consequences of prior occupancy of a territory.
>
> 2.- Arguments of indigenous status also evoke a moral dimension."

Finally, Dyck states:

> "The moral premise and cultural distinctions fundamental to relations between indigenous people and the state have not simply disappeared. Instead, an inversion has occurred; indigenous peoples are insisting upon retaining their historically distinct status as an essential means for achieving their aims and improving their situation. Nation-states are today equally adamant in defending the principle that there should be only a single category of citizenship within a country."
>
> Dyck, 1985:13-14 (Figure 11).

The precedent statement was clearly objectified in the **"NO CELEBRACION DEL QUINTO CENTENARIO DEL DESCUBRIMIENTO DE AMERICA 1492 - 1992."** On the 12th of October 1992, Mapuche society denounced the negative result that the first five hundred years of usurpation and dominance of Mapucheland had for that society. One of the consequences of that domination has been the control of the development of that people. In public acts, assemblies, marches, and allocutions, the

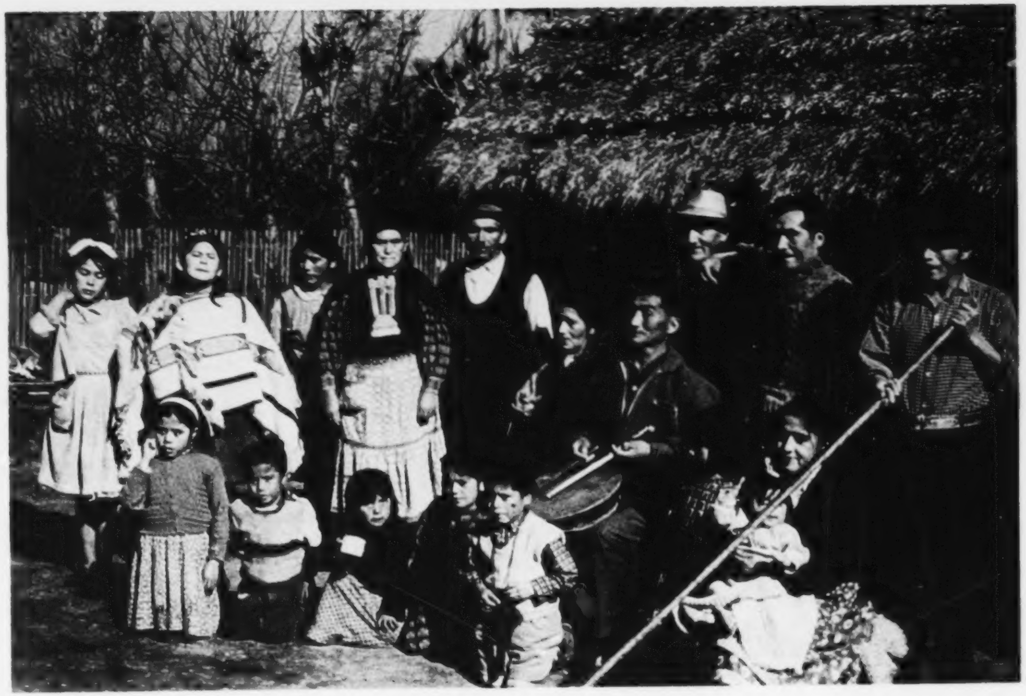


Figure 5. Family of the **lonko** (chief) Francisco Lemunao (standing beside his wife Rosa). Elicia Lemunao, one of Francisco's daughters, appears in this scene showing one of her textile creations: a blanket (**makun**). In this photograph, other lonkos and Mapuche musicians can be observed.
Pircunche, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1974).

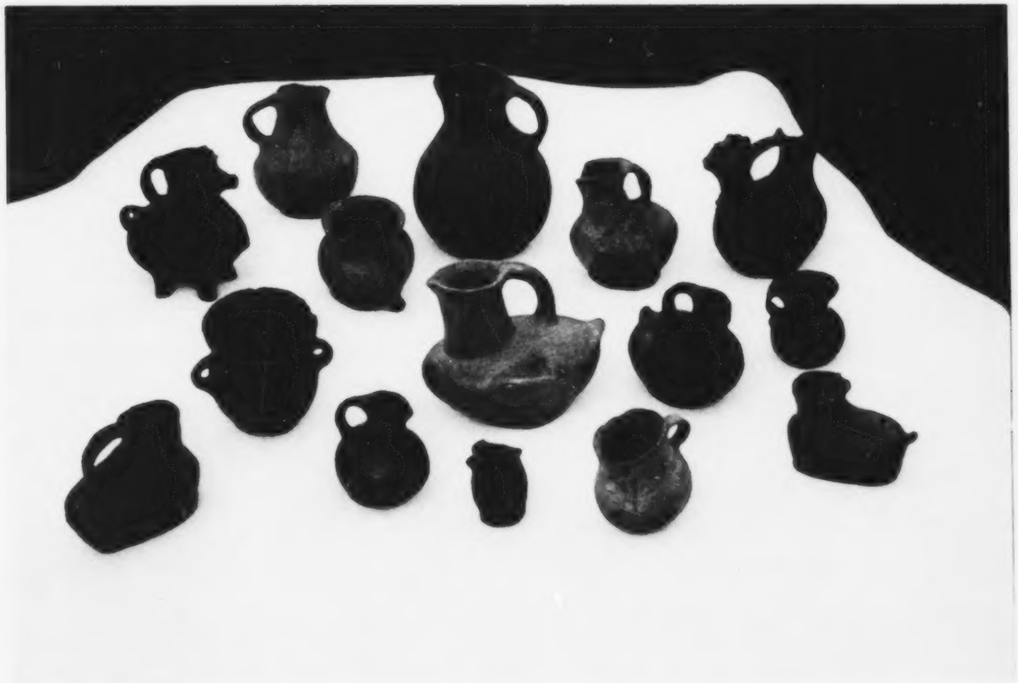


Figure 6. Mapuche ceramics. Collection of Omar Castro and Eugenia Alvarez.
(Photograph by the author, 1978).

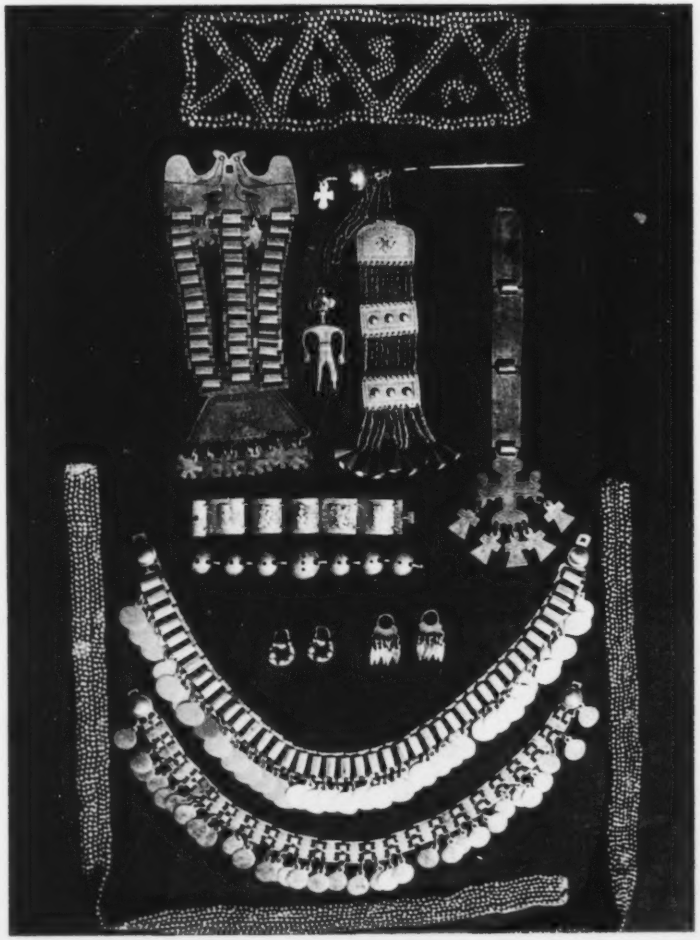


Figure 7. Mapuche jewelry. Traditional silver jewelry still used by Mapuche women.
Collection of Omar Castro Gatica and Eugenia Alvarez.
(Photograph by Andriés Castro Alvarez, 1993).

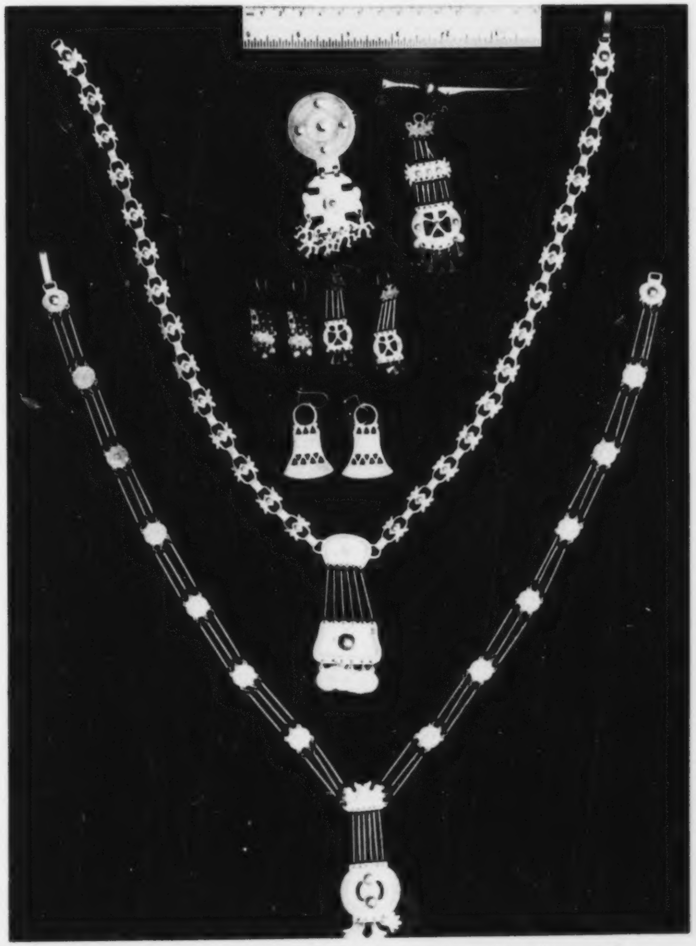


Figure 8. Mapuche jewelry. Scale reproductions of ancient jewelry that present Mapuche silversmiths make for sale.
Collection of Omar Castro Gatica and Eugenia Alvarez.
(Photograph by Andriés Castro Alvarez, 1993).

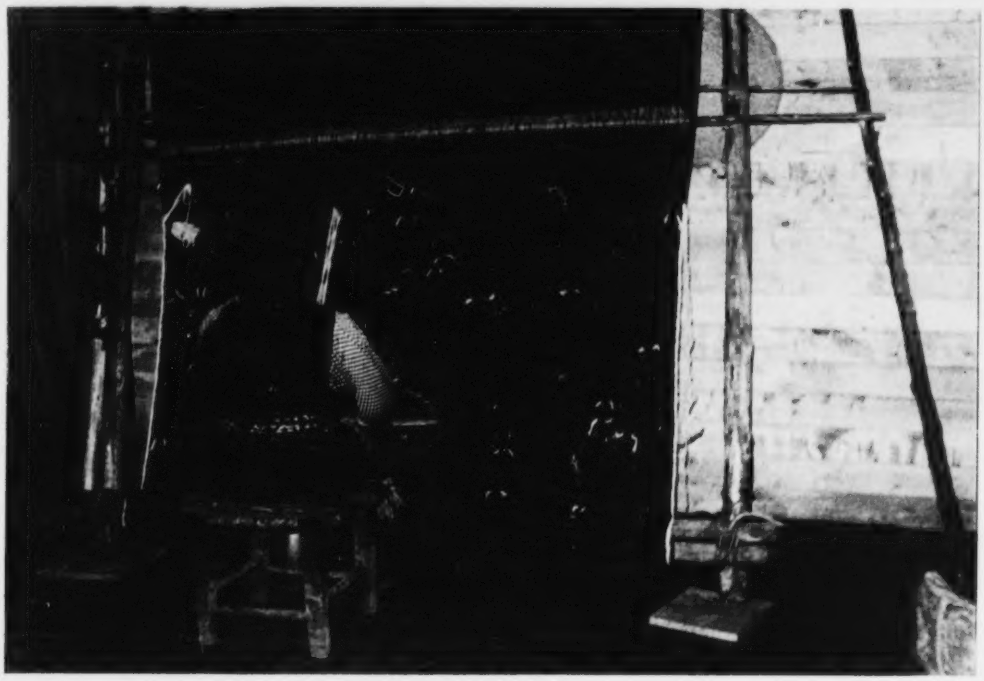


Figure 9. Mapuche textiles. Mrs. Rosa (wife of Francisco Lemunao) weaving a **lama**. Pircunche, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by the author, 1978).

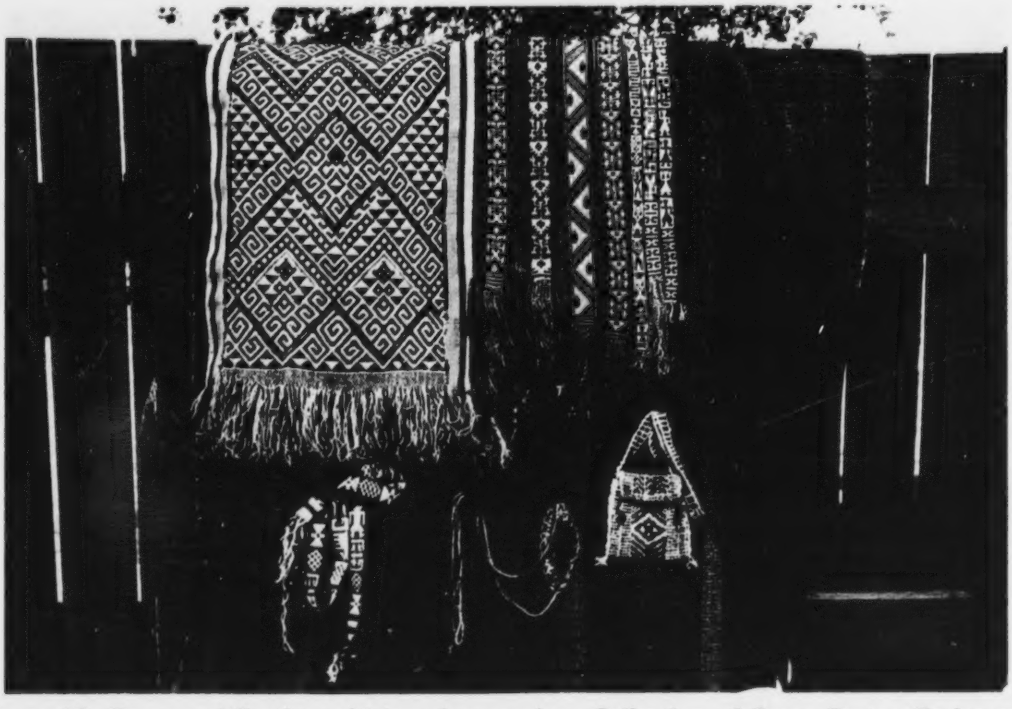


Figure 10. Commercialization of Mapuche weaving. Collection of Omar Castro Gatica and Eugenia Alvarez.
(Photograph by Andriés Castro Alvarez, 1993).

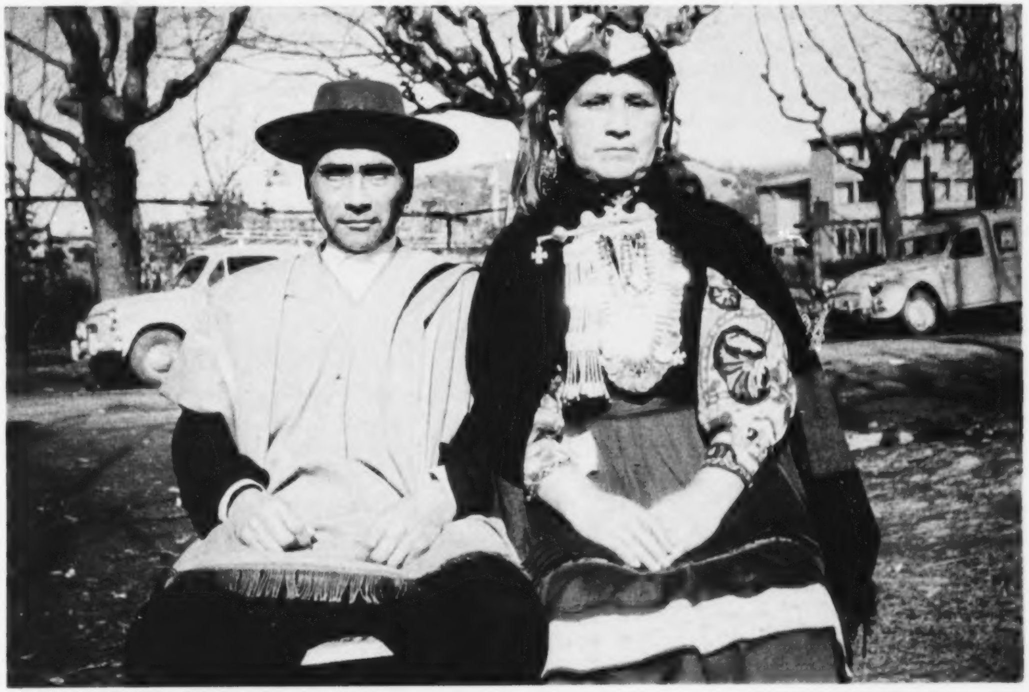


Figure 11. Mapuche matrimony. In her clothes and jewelry, the woman synthesizes Mapuche cultural values, reaffirming at the same time the ethnicity and persistence of her people.
Temuco, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by the author, 1972).

Araucanian spirit emerged, once more, along with a strong revitalization of their ethnicity; two fundamental cultural values which have defined the Mapuches as a persistent society. In Santiago (capital of Chile) and in Temuco (capital of the region of La Araucanía), the Araucanos demonstrated that, as in the past, they continue to fight for the preservation of their cultural liberty.

Socio-political organization of the Mapuche

The socio / political / cultural history of the Araucanian people can be synthesized into four chapters. The first made concrete the Inca / Mapuche interaction; the second, the Spanish conquest. The third chapter was initiated in 1881, the date in which the Chilean state carried out the endoconquista of Mapucheland, a chapter that finalized with the imposition of the system of Mapuche reducciones. At present, Mapuche society is living the fourth chapter of its history, a chapter that can be denominated as **Derecho, autonomía, y autodeterminación del Pueblo Mapuche, como nación, dentro del Estado Chileno**. The re-structuring of the **Aukin Wallmapu Ngulam** (Council of all the Lands) in 1989 marks the initiation of the present historical moment in which Mapuche society lives. The Council postulates Mapuche cultural liberty as the only means to achieve the total development of the Araucanian people. With the purpose of disclosing the socio-political thought of the Council of all the Lands, referring to the present Chilean state / Mapuche society interaction, I will now transcribe the assertions of Nilsa Rain Huentemilla, **werken** (the messenger, the message; Augusta, 1966:269) of the Aukin Wallmapu Ngulam. The message Nilsa Rain provides us is contained in a recording that former Mapuche leader Hilario Lienlaf Marinao cordially sent to me from Saskatoon (province of Saskatchewan, Canada) in July of 1994. Nilsa's line of thought is as follows:

> "The Aukin Wallmapu Ngulam has a proposal of autonomous development in which let it be us the Mapuches who will start to

> determine in what manner we want to organize ourselves, in what manner we want to give ourselves a development, in what manner we want to continue to survive; and these decisions will always be taken from a Mapuche point of view, by Mapuches, with Mapuches, and for Mapuches."

Nilsa completes the socio-political basis of the Council of all the Lands, referring to the position of that Council with respect to the Chilean state with the following affirmation:

> "There can exist, within a state, diverse nations. We live, co-exist with Chilean society. We are not proposing that Chileans should retreat from our territory, but what we propose is that the just and necessary lands be returned to us so that we could guarantee that we will not perish in the future and that would guarantee us that we will be able to develop our own schools, our own institutions, our own economy that would be appropriate to our form of conceiving communitary economy that would guarantee to maintain our social forms which are very important, as is the family; definitely, that would guarantee us to again be able to give the development that our people had previously, in a harmonious coexistence with Chilean society."
>
> Nilsa Rain Huentemilla. Werken Council of all the Lands (1994).

With the purpose of materializing the social, political, economic, and cultural objectives contained in the preceding declaration, the Aukin Wallmapu Ngulam has re-organized its internal political structure as follows:

> "The leadership structure of the Council is comprised of the aboriginal leaders of Mapuche communities. Included among these leaders are the **Lonko** (political leader of each

> community), **Machi** (female leader responsible for Mapuche medicine, science, and philosophy), **Weupife** (Mapuche historian), **Ngempin** (religious, political leader), and **Werken (s)** (political spokesperson)."
>
> Declaration of principles of the Aukin Wallmapu Ngulam. (Document courtesy of Hilario Lienlaf Marinao. Personal communication, 1994).

In its political structure, the Council of all the Lands has conferred special importance to Mapuche communities as the genuine representation of that people. Here, it is necessary to remark that the concepts **reducción** and **comunidad Mapuche** have been used as synonyms to designate the basic structural cell of the socio-political organization of the Araucanians. With respect to this, I reproduce the assertions that Stuchlik published in the "Segunda Semana Indigenista" (1970), affirmations that clarify the previously mentioned concepts:

> "Los términos comunidad y reducción están usados alternativamente como si significasen una y la misma cosa. En realidad se trata de dos conceptos diferentes. La reducción es un terreno que fue otorgado por intermedio de un Título de Merced, para el usufructo de un grupo de personas (en la mayor parte de los casos emparentadas) representadas por un jefe, a cuyo nombre el Título de Merced fue extendido. Aunque en la mayor parte de los casos, este jefe ya falleció, la reducción sigue siendo llamada por el nombre de éste. La comunidad es una unidad locacional más o menos natural denominada generalmente a partir de un rasgo natural característico, verbigracia, **Repucura** = camino de piedra, **Boldoche** = gente del boldo, **Coipuco** = agua del coipo, que fue gradualmente transformándose en una unidad administrativa artificialmente formada. Una comunidad puede estar formada por una o más reducciones; en el primer caso las fronteras de la comunidad son las mismas

> que las de la reducción, en el segundo caso las fronteras de la comunidad coinciden con las fronteras exteriores de todas las reducciones que la forman. Esto significa que la comunidad como tal no es exactamente delimitada. No tiene fronteras propias exactas, sino éstas están formadas por las fronteras de las reducciones que la componen."
>
> Stuchlik, 1970:105, 109.

According to Faron (1964:15), the reservation system in which Mapuche society lives has permitted that society to maintain its own cultural and social identity in southern central Chile. Along with materializing the continuation of the existence and presence of the Araucanos in Chile, the reservation system has created "a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and relation considerations. One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources" (Faron, 1964:21). Since the beginnings of the system of reserves or reducciones, the Mapuche / Land relation has been in direct connection with the judicial-legal possession of the land, possession / título that, in each reducción, the Chilean government legitimized with the name of "founder" of the lineage of the residential kingroup. This has given rise to a continued pressure for land, particularly in the specific case of the matrimony of an Araucanian couple. Faron (1961:174) states that "the most important item in the marriage wealth is the parcel of land made available to the man by his father, over which the bride exercises customary rights." This situation is based upon Mapuche social structure in which patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are and have long been basic integrative principles of that structure (Faron 1961:69).

At present, the Mapuche family unit lives "in two worlds." One is the Chilean state, which conditions and regulates the Mapuche / Chilean society economic transactions, through the cash economy system, with credit and markets; and the other is its own world, that is to say, the reducciones and larger communities which comprise the total structure of Mapuche society. Faron (1961:64-5) affirms that the individual and his family are deeply imbedded in the web of relationship which constitute reservational (and communal) social structure. That web of relationship, which intimately unites an Araucanian family and the rest of its peers, is concretized through the interrelation among the components of the Mapuche kinship system; that is, "the lineage segment, the maximal lineage (a body of kin related through males who trace descent to a common ancestor, the 'founder' of the lineage), the residential kingroup (structured around a core of patrilineally related males, and includes their spouses and children as well as the unmarried, single, widowed, separated, or divorced, females of the patrilineage), the multilineage reservation, and the multireservational structure which constitutes the nucleus of units in the systems of matrilateral marriage (marriage between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother) and ritual congregationalism" (Faron, 1961:64-5). Faron emphasizes that "the whole of Mapuche society is linked together by matrilateral marriage connections. There is a tendency to take wives from a limited number of the groups, provided wives are available, and a fear of witchcraft inhibits marriage into unrelated groups" (Faron, 1961:198).

The Mapuche ritual congregation has existence in the funeral or **eluwn** (Augusta, 1966:42; Moesbach, 1973:405) and in the **nguillatun** (prayers/petitions to **Ngenechen**). Faron (1961:211) emphasizes that the mentioned religious ceremonies:

> "take place within a framework of sustained relationships among lineage groups (all the living members of the maximal lineage), relationships which involve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system."

With the purpose of staging the nguillatun or the eluwn, the reducción organizing the ritual extends invitations to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation (Faron, 1961:213-14). The host reservation responsible for the ritual centralizes the interactions / connections among the different lineages that at that moment form the ritual congregation for the ceremony. The **ngenpin** or leader of the nguillatun is a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group (Faron, 1961:213). Faron sustains that many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral framework (Faron, 1961:214). With relation to the ceremony of the eluwn, the most intimately involved and most responsible persons participating are those of the patrilineages of which the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine (Faron, 1961:216). As a consequence, the nguillatun and the eluwn are the religious nexus that cyclically revitalize the interactions among the lineages of the members of a reducción as well as those of a community; summarizing, of the entire Mapuche society. The perennial nature of this situation is synthesized by Faron, who declares:

> "Throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of awn (eluwn) and nguillatun. There is a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation."
>
> Faron, 1961:217.

Faron (1961:217-18) categorically affirms that being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation, and emphasizes that:

> "reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and

> conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. The Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reserve. It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure."
>
> Faron, 1961:217-18.

Mapuche society has existence, essence, and transcendency in the continuing objectivation / revitalization of the social, political, and cultural interactions among its members. These interactions are cemented in the social structure / belief system interrelations which the Mapuches have centralized in the **admapu** or **costumbre de la tierra** (Augusta, 1966:1). Mapucheland has been the column that sustains the Mapuche people, giving them, at the same time, a definite cultural identity. In their land, the Araucanos have encountered the material elements with which they have structured their ideology, a concept that Conrad (1992:159) defines as the "set of beliefs that provides the members of a group with a rationale for their existence. An ideology tells the members of a group who they are and explains their relations to one another, to people outside the group, to the past and future, to nature, and to the cosmos." As I will show, in Araucanian ideology, the interaction between living beings, which comprise the flora and fauna of Mapucheland, and man (**biocosmology**), constitutes one of the essential bases of the Mapuche universe.

CHAPTER 2

BIOCOSMOLOGY AND THE MAPUCHE UNIVERSE

Biocosmology

> It is the study, analysis, and temporal/spatial interpretation of the interactions that some human societies have developed between determined living entities and defined systems of beliefs. These interactions are objectified in a specific environment, and are based on precise cultural values inherent in these societies.

The preceding definition incorporates the following fundamental ideas:

1.- Biocosmology addresses the temporal/spacial interactions between humans and determined living entities (flora and fauna) in relation to a specific system of beliefs. Through the socio - historic - cultural development of societies, mankind has created, developed, and systematized an intrinsic living entity/belief interaction which is present in every vital interpretation of what we call "religion." "Religion," as a nexus between the natural and supernatural world, necessitates material objects to objectify itself. These material objects can be created by mankind, thus becoming religious symbols, or they can be taken directly from nature and incorporated into a defined cosmology (Figure 12).

Sex, reproduction, degree of fertility, vital cycle, form, colour, life cycle, and movement patterns of determined animal and vegetal beings constitute significant biocosmological attributes to certain societies. The communication systems that animals as much as plants possess, through which they establish defined interactions among themselves, are interpreted by some societies as a type of language. This "language of the jungle" represents one of the vital nexus among living entities and man; it transforms itself into an important link that unites biocosmology with belief systems.

The living attributes proper of animals and plants are transformed into the base of precise rituals through which a given society establishes a stronger and clearer union with the supernatural. In Mapuche biocosmology, the color of domesticated animals has constituted one of the visual nexus that unites the natural with the supernatural. This nexus graphs a chromatic writing that objectifies precise petitions the Mapuches formulate to their divinity. Figure 13 shows a scene of a **mingaco** (socialized work) of the plowing of the soil, a scene in which the oxen's colors, and of the attire of the Mapuches, project the necessity of a climate favorable for an adequate and normal development of agriculture (see "Color in the nguillatun", Chapter 4).

2.- The living entity/belief interaction has its basis in a natural framework which permits its realization. The particular ecological medium that characterizes a geographical zone makes propitious allowances for the development of animal and vegetal species typical of that place, species that in reciprocal living entity/ecology interaction constitute the living attributes of that geographical medium. One of the animals that in the past formed an essential part of Mapuche biocosmology was the **weke** or **hueque**, also known by the names of **rehueque**, **reweke**, **chilihueque**, **chillihueque**, **chilliweke**, **carnero de la tierra**, or **oveja de la tierra** (Augusta, 1966:263; Lago, 1953:55-6; Moesbach, 1978:113; Ovalle, 1969:29; Pineda y Bascuñán, 1973:39; Valdivia, cited by Zapater, 1973:45). According to Ovalle (1962:72), the lamb of the earth was native to Chile, that is to say, it belonged to the autochthonous fauna of that country: it was not a Spanish contribution. The sheep that the peninsulares brought to Chile was known by the name of "**oveja de Castilla**" (Pineda y Bascuñán, 1973:39) (1). Until before the arrival of the Spanish in Chile, the Mapuches did not possess in their language (**Mapudungun**) a word synonymous with the Spanish concept **oveja**; as a result, they had to "araucanize" the name of that animal, calling it **ofisha** or **ufisha** (Moesbach, 1973:110; Salas, 1984:23), the word that is used until the present.

One of the first writers who attested to the existence of native domestic animals

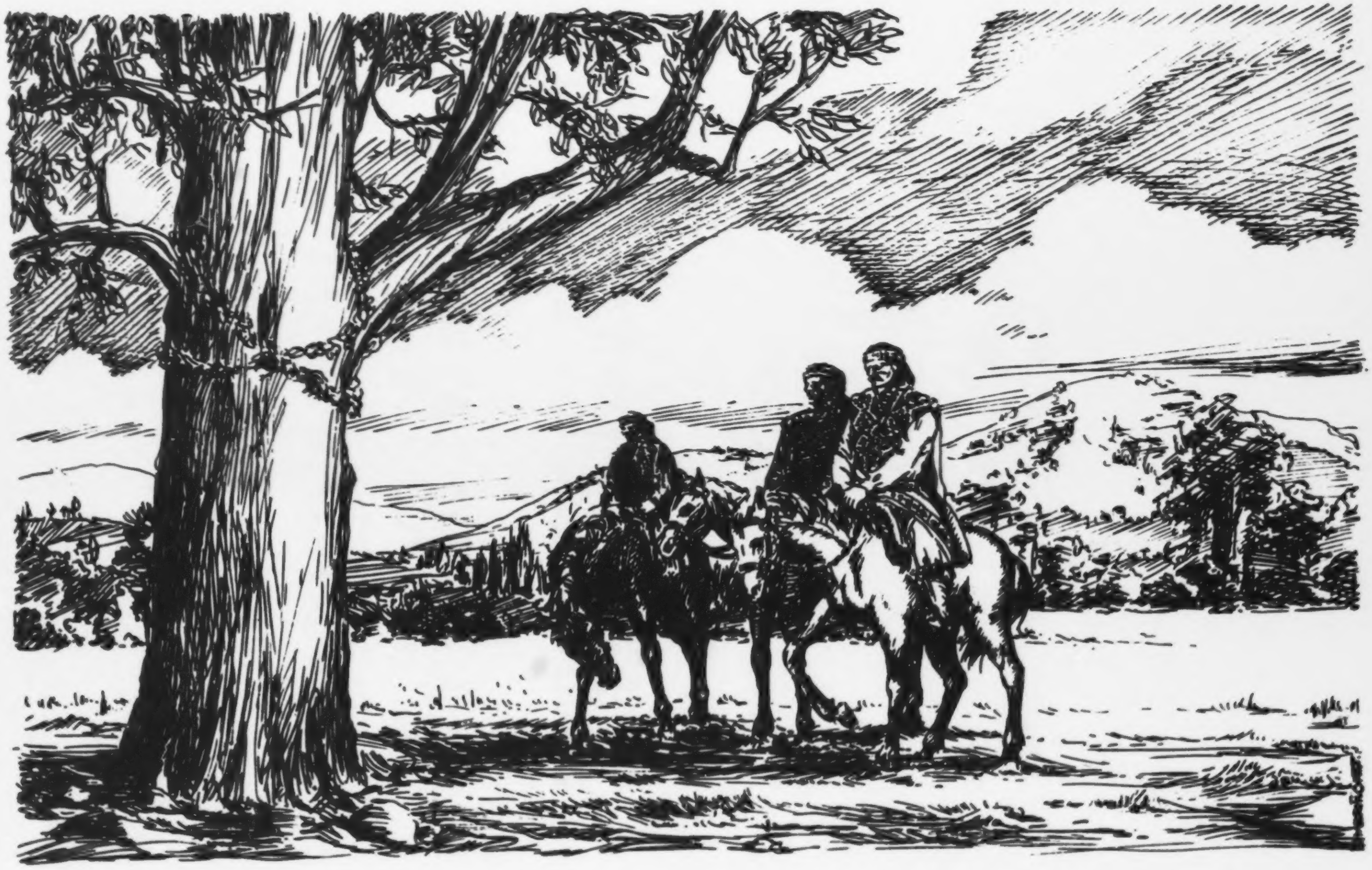


Figure 12. Adoration of the sacred tree. Mapuches venerating a roble (*Nothofagus obliqua*), in Roble Huacho (a place 10 kilometres southeast of Temuco, province of Cautín, Chile). On the upper part of the trunk - at the branching point - one can observe two flower crowns, placed there in a ritual ceremony previously realized. Scene from the year 1924.
(Drawing by Guillermo Meriño Pedreros, 1977).

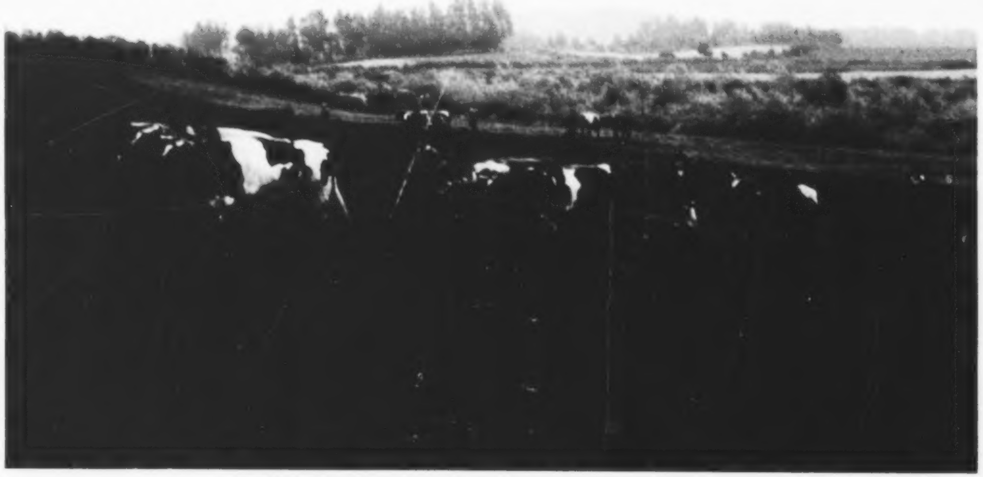


Figure 13. Mapuche biocosmology. In the socialized work (**mingaco**) of land plowing, the Mapuches show Ngenechen the vital necessity for adequate climate for the normal development of agriculture. This necessity is graphed in this photograph, in which the chromatic writing - based on black, white, red, and brown hues - is objectified in the color of the animals (oxen), and in the attire of the Mapuche peasants. Chomio, province of Cautín. (Photograph by the author, 1978).

among the Araucanos was the Spanish cronicler Gerónimo de Vivar, who accompanied Pedro de Valdivia in his arrival in Chile. Emphatically, Vivar affirms that:

> "Cuando entramos en esta tierra los españoles había ganado, aunque no mucho, y con las guerras se han acabado, por lo cual no hay ahora ninguno sino cual o cual, porque donde entran españoles, especialmente en conquistas, son como langostas en los panes."

> "Upon entering this land the Spanish had livestock, although not much, and with the wars it has been killed off, due to which there is none left except the odd one, because where Spanish enter, especially during conquests, they are like grasshoppers devouring bread."
>
> Vivar, 1987:222.

Those "**Spanish grasshoppers**" decimated the **weke** population, reducing them until they disappeared completely. In view of the impossibility of repopulating the **chilliwekes**, the Mapuches accepted and adopted the Spanish **ufisha** as a substitute of that animal which, as I have previously mentioned, constituted for that society one of the vital nexus with which Mapuche biocosmology united the natural with the supernatural world. With relation to this assertion, it is useful to remember that for the ancient Araucanos the **weke** performed the following functions:

- A transport animal (Lago, 1953:55-6).
- To the tribal chiefs and to the caciques, the possession of a **chilliweke** was a symbol of power and wealth (Lago, 1953:55-6).
- In the declarations of war and in the agreements for peace, it was sacrificed as the symbol that sealed the actions (Zapater, 1973:45).
- It constituted an important part of the price that the **toquis** (Araucanian war chiefs) requested for the ransom of a Spanish prisoner (Pineda y Bascuñán, 1973:38-9).
- In the **machitun** or activities realized by the **machi** (Mapuche priestess/healer)

to heal an ill person (i.e., as "receiver" of the patient's disease, and/or as a ritual sacrifice).

- As payment to the machi for his/her work in the machitun.
- It was the "sacred" offering of the Mapuches offered to **Ngenechen** in the nguillatun.
- It was sacrificed to prepare ritual meals.

The Spanish lamb materialized, with true accuracy, all the potentialities and symbology that, in the past, Mapuche biocosmology had objectified in the **reweke**. One of its potentialities is the possibility of preparing beverages and ritual food. On ocassion of the **nguillatun**, and as one of the rites previous to its realization, the lamb is one of the animals the Mapuches sacrifice with a triple purpose. First, its blood is used as an offering in the first prayer that the sacrificer directs to Ngenechen (see "Prayer previous to the nguillatun," Chapter 6). Second, the color of the lamb the Mapuches sacrifice "shows" to their divinity the type of help they need: that is, to obtain good weather, the lamb shall be white; if rain is requested of Ngenechen, it shall be a black lamb. The third purpose for which that animal is sacrificed, is to use its meat as one of the bases of the meals that will be served in the nguillatun.

One of the traditional ritual forms through which the Mapuches sacrifice a lamb is by cutting its jugular. In this way it is possible to obtain two types of ritual meals:

a). The **ricol**. This is the blood that flows freely from the jugular vein, blood that is received in a container and drunk immediately, still hot. With respect to this practice, Gunckel affirms that the ricol:

> "is the blood that is received directly from the sacrificed animal in a glass or other container which is drunk as such (liquid)".
>
> Gunckel, 1967:40.

b). The **ñachi**. To the Mapuches and peasants of southern Chile, the ñachi is one of the most commomn ritual meals. Upon cutting the jugular of the sacrificed animal, the blood is received in a container that contains salt, hot pepper, and vegetables. When it has coagulated, this blood is eaten raw (Figure 14). Smith (1855) provides us with one of the most accurate descriptions of the manner in which the ancient Mapuches prepared the ñachi. His description follows:

> "Our host ordered a sheep to be killed for our use. The animal was tied up by the hind legs to a bough, and his throat was cut; a woman stood by with a wooden bowl to catch the blood, into which she threw a handful of salt to hasten coagulation; another brought a basket, in which she received the entrails and carried them off to the house - for both the blood and the entrails are eaten by these people, the former raw or stewed, the latter made up into tripe."
>
> Smith, 1855:187.

Through the sacrifice of animals, especially sheep and horses, the Mapuches obtain their blood, ritual fluid that for them has a double value. First, it is one of the essential biocosmological elements that unites the natural with the supernatural worlds. Second, and according to the periodicity with which the Mapuches execute those sacrifices, blood is one of the fundamental nexus that cyclically revitalize spiritual, cultural, social, and political interactions among the members of that society.

3.- Originating from the sensible/natural world, the interactions of living entity/belief materialize defined forms of life. On a second level and through a psycho - socio - historic - cultural process, certain societies transform these modes of life into the basis for a core of values that defines, organizes, regulates, and orients the behavior of their members. These cultural values constitute the axial point of the supernatural world that codifies a specific system of beliefs which grants existence, inmanence, and transcendence to those societies.

Mapuche biocosmology is characterized by incorporating predestination as an essential element in the living entity/belief interaction system. The presence of certain animals and birds near a Mapuche house constitutes an evil augury that will fatally become reality for its dwellers. Snakes (*Tachymenis peruviana* and *Dromicus chamissonis*), owls (*Glaucidum nanum*), rats (*Mus rattus* and *M. decumanus*), raras (*Phytotoma rara*), partridges (*Nothoprocta perdicaria*), foxes (*Canis* or *Pseudolopex magellanicus*), spiders (*Epeira cinaberina* and *Scytodes glabula*), ants (*Formica rufa*), blue flies (*Calliphora vomitaria*) are some of the living entities potentially heralding unfortunate events that will irremediably affect the Mapuche (Figure 15).

The sense of omen is especially objectified in the flowering of the **quila** (*Chusquea quila*), a woody and leafy Chilean native graminaceous plant. This event constitutes a clear indication of a black future, of a great crisis that will profoundly affect the Mapuche society. The flowering of the quila is accompanied, generally, by rat plagues, spider plagues, by great droughts in summer, and harsh winters characterized by intensely cold conditions. During winter, many animals (sheep, pigs, goats) perish due to lack of food or accidents related to weather and soil conditions (2). The flowering of the quila communicates to the Mapuche the probability of: eclipses, earthquakes, droughts, plagues (rats, spiders, grasshoppers, etc.), scarcity, famines, and other calamities.

The socio - political - economic crisis is objectified in the low or null agricultural production of those years of the flowering of the quilas which results in a decreased purchasing power for the Mapuche. On a second level, the Mapuche are pressured by the **winka** (Chileans) to sell their land and/or surrender them in **mediería** (3) with the purpose of palliating such a crisis. On a third level, this crisis is reflected by a political treatment unfavourable to the Mapuche, since in determined situations of crisis, the Chilean state exerts pressure on the Mapuche so that they will sell or

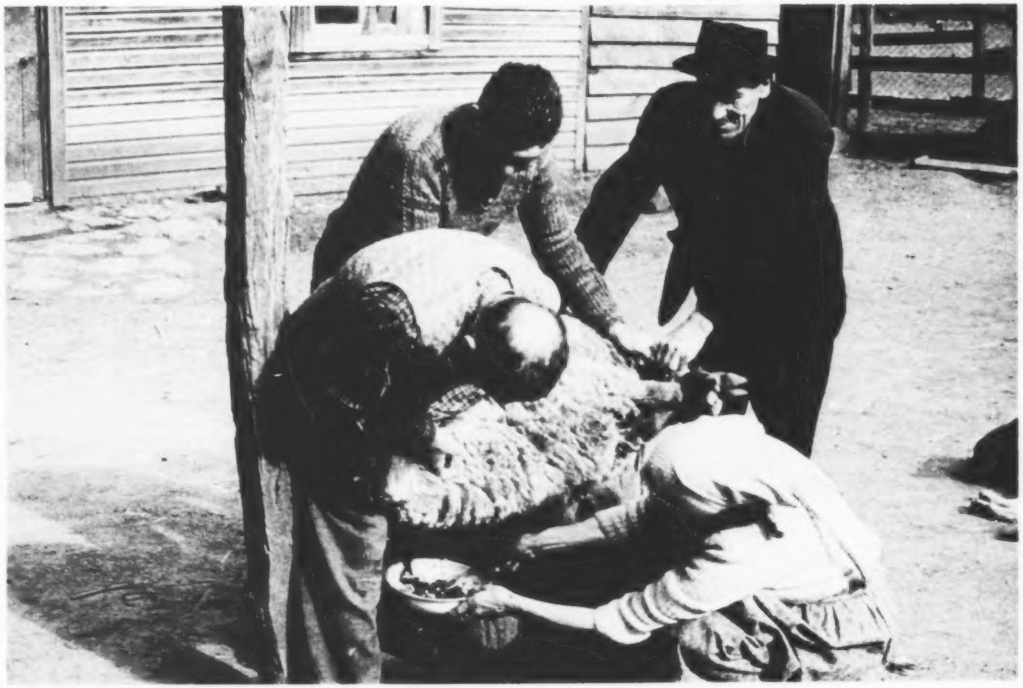


Figure 14. Preparation of the **ñachi**. On this photograph appears Victoriano Alvarez cutting the jugular of a lamb, thus obtaining the blood which is received by his wife Rosa in a container holding spices (salt, hot pepper, and vegetables). Once coagulated, this blood will be served raw (ñachi).
Province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1976).

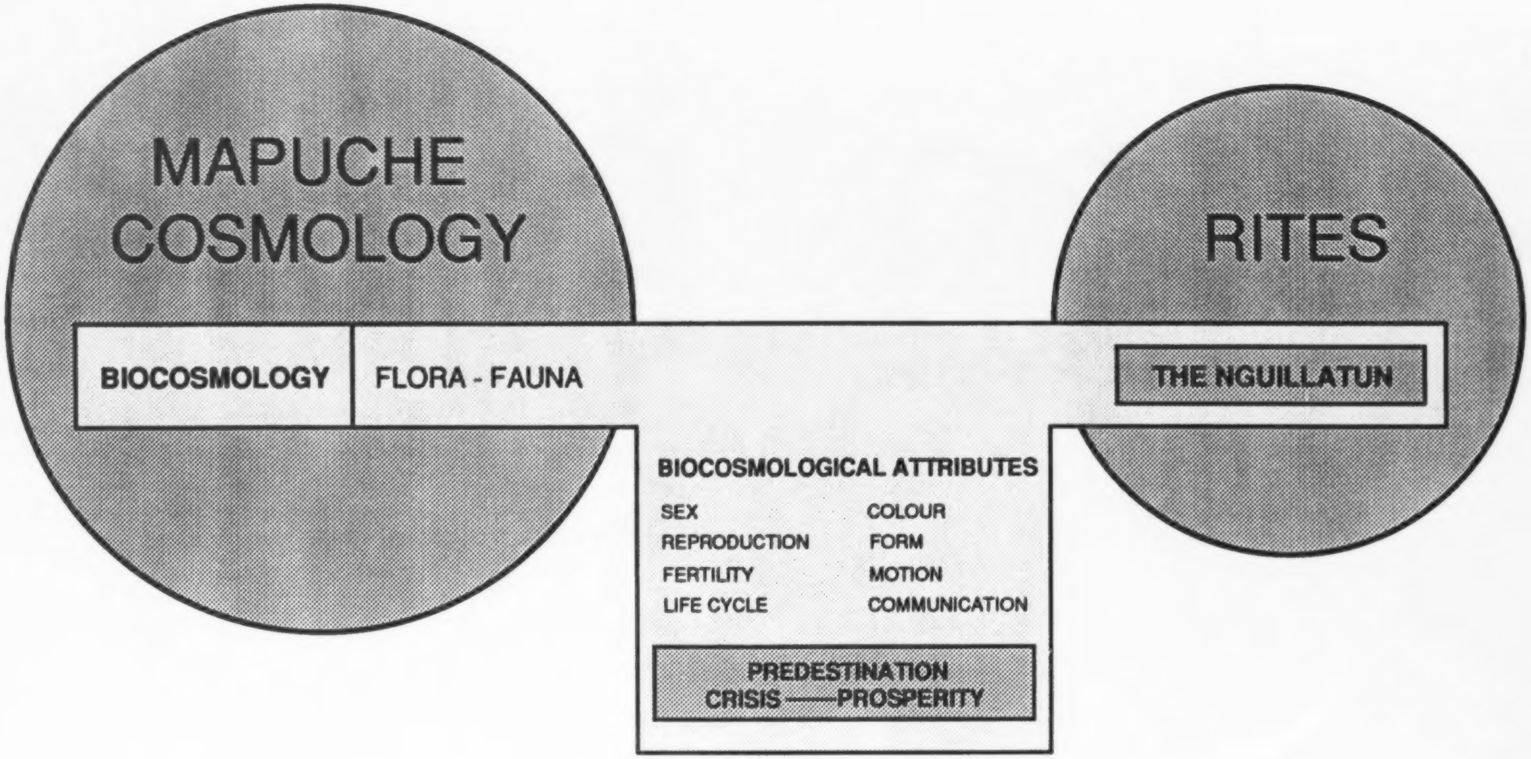

MAPUCHE
COSMOLOGY
RITES
BIOCOSMOLOGY
FLORA - FAUNA
THE NGUILLATUN
BIOCOSMOLOGICAL ATTRIBUTES
SEX
REPRODUCTION
FERTILITY
LIFE CYCLE
COLOUR
FORM
MOTION
COMMUNICATION
PREDESTINATION
CRISIS ——PROSPERITY

FIGURE 15 MAPUCHE BIOCOSMOLOGY

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auction their lands with the purpose of handing them over to "harder-working men" who will increase their productivity. Finally, it is necessary to remember that one of the most recent flowerings of the quila was during the year 1972, the year preceding the total change of the social, economic, political, and cultural structure of Chile (4). Upon observing the flowering quilas, the Mapuche immediately realize a **nguillatun** (collective ceremony) to pray to Ngenechen so that the deity will end those crisis moments and restore calm. It is asked of Ngenechen that nature return to its normal course to ensure the continuity and prosperity of Mapuche society.

The horse (*Equus caballus*), the bull (*Bos taurus*), sheep (*Ovis aries*), the rooster and the hen (*Gallus ferrugineus*), and sacred plants, such as the canelo (*Drimys winteri*), the maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*), the laurel (*Pavonia sempervirens or Laurelia aromatica*), and the manzano (*Malus pumila*), are some of the living entities that are always present in the nguillatun. The Mapuche present to Ngenechen all these beings as a way of reaffirming environment/man/deity interactions as well as reinforcing their identity and ethnicity, values that define the Mapuche as a persistent people.

In every biocosmology, nature is the sap that originates and nourishes precise ideologies. Each ideology is a response to metaphysical, spiritual, religious, and psychological needs that numerous societies have structured and framed within a defined table of values with the purpose of organizing, orienting, and regulating the behavior of their members. Thus, biocosmology is one of the axial aspects that materializes and gives sense and value to a specific system of beliefs.

Mapuche universe

Mapuche society has institutionalized a system of beliefs whose essential basis is the dualism good/evil. Good forces are always struggling against evil forces, an opposition that orients and defines the good and evil actions of the Mapuches within their socio - cultural context. The dualism has a double purpose. First, evil is a destructive force that unbalances and kills. Second, and as a result of the "triumph" of evil over good, this dualism acts as a unifying element that provokes a common action: to help the affected person, and especially in the case of the death of a Mapuche due to the intervention of some agent of evil, to comfort and to make the pain due to the loss of some family member its own. Thus, in a specific situation relating to a misfortune that in many cases, and according to Mapuche beliefs, originates from the success of evil forces over the forces of good, the good / evil dualism acts as a tacit power that reinforces, revitalizes, and reactualizes social, religious, and cultural interactions among the members of that society, re-establishing at the same time the normal spiritual/emotional equilibrium among the Mapuches.

In Mapuche universe, the good / evil dualism is synthesized, fundamentally, in the concept of **kalkudungun** or magic. As an essential part of the supernatural world, Mapuche magic presents two facets: one evil, dark, negative, and lethal, known as Black Magic; another good, useful, positive, and revitalizing, White Magic.

I will return to the two basic aspects that, according to Hill and Williams (1989), characterize the supernatural world: the powers and the beings. The mentioned authors suggest that:

> "The supernatural powers are those that people have believed, throughout history, that they possessed in themselves or could be given or could learn, powers by which they could acquire hidden knowledge and could achieve some non - physical control over physical nature".
>
> Hill and Williams, 1989:17.

With the purpose of attaining a better and clearer comprehension of Mapuche magic, it is useful to remember that some of the powers, especially those that the practitioners of white magic use to fight against evil and its servants, are contained in an esoteric knowledge that is the base of a traditional wisdom. This wisdom belongs to the Mapuche hereditary cultural patrimony; and has been preserved in the minds, souls, and hands of the practitioners of both types of magic, black and white. This traditional knowledge defines Mapuche society as one of the societies possessing an ancient secret code relating to the supernatural, a code that has yet to be sufficiently studied, analyzed, and comprehended. The powers, supernatural beings, and some of the knowledge that the practitioners of the kalkudungun possess, appear in Figure 16, which I proceed to analyze.

In Mapuche ideology, the being that centralizes all the forces of evil is the devil, known in Mapuche by the names of **wekufe**, **wekufü**, **huecuwe**, **huecuvu**, **wekufu** or **guekubu** (Alonqueo, 1985:100; Augusta, 1966:263; Molina, 1978:120; Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:79; Plath, 1973:338; Ruiz Aldea, 1902:46; Smith, 1855:237; Victoria, 1965:13). The guekubu uses all of its power to harm and impair the possibilities of man (Alonqueo, 1985:100). Even though the wekufu can use its powers by itself to separate, disturb, destroy, and kill, most times it prefers to transpose its destructive knowledge to its most immediate and loyal servants, the sorcerers. Loyal to their powerful master whom they venerate and obey, the sorcerers practice witchcraft and all the malignant arts to accomplish their main mission: to satisfy their master.

With the objective of practicing witchcraft, from ancient times the Mapuche sorcerers have established among themselves a rigid hierarchical structure which defines the category and the degree of power they possess. At the apex of that structure is the **Rüm - Kalku** or "sorcerer of supreme power, of superior hierarchy and category" (Alonqueo, 1985:105). He is the direct intermediary between the wekufe and the other sorcerers. He possesses the knowledge and wisdom that permits him to be the great master of Mapuche black magic. On a second level is located the **Füta - Kalku** or "great sorcerer of lesser category than the Rüm Kalku" (Alonqueo, 1985:105).

MAPUCHE MAGIC (KALKUDUNGUN)

BLACK MAGIC		WHITE MAGIC	
PRACTITIONERS	SUPERNATURAL BEINGS	PRACTITIONERS	TRADITIONAL-SUPERNATURAL WISDOM
Rüm Kalku. Füta Kalku. Kalku. Pichi Kalku.	* Anchimalen, Añchimallen, Anchümalhuén,Kuliu Kuliu Namún, or Pichi Meulen. * Camahueto. * Colocolo. * Cheuwürfe, Cherrufe, Cheurfe, Cheurfue, Cheurpue, or Cherruve. * Chiway-Trukur. * Choñ-Choñ or Tué-Tué. * Huichancullín. * Ivunche or Imbunche. * Meulen. * Ngërüfilú or Ngëruvilu * Piwüchén, Piguchén, Piuchén, Pihuichén, or Piwichén. * Trëlkewekufe or Trelquehuecuvü. * Trukur-Renü. * Waillepeñ or Huaillepeñ. * Witranalwe, Wichanalwe, or Chayanckadi. * Wüfuche or Wüyuche.	Machi. Copolave or Cupove. Pewün. Peumafe or Peumantufe. Pelon.	* Aeromancy. * Alectryomancy. * Anthropomancy. * Apantomancy. * Costumomancy. * Chresmomancy. * Floromancy. * Halomancy. * Haruspicy. * Hepatoscopy. * Irisomancy. * Myomancy. * Necromancy. * Oneiromancy. * Sciomancy. * Uromancy. * Xylomancy. * Zoomancy.

Figure 16 MAPUCHE MAGIC (KALKUDUNGUN). ITS PRACTITIONERS, SUPERNATURAL BEINGS, AND TRADITIONAL-SUPERNATURAL WISDOM.

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Following is the **Kalku** or "common sorcerer" (Alonqueo, 1985:105; Augusta, 1966:81; Guevara, 1922:55; Hilger, 1966:62; Kurteff, 1979:34; Moesbach, 1978:40-1; Molina, 1978:122; Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:19; Titiev, 1951:109; Zapater, 1973:68). At the base of that hierarchy is the **Pichi - Kalku** or "small sorcerer, of last and lowest category" (Alonqueo, 1985:105).

For the learning and perfecting of the magic arts, there existed, and there still exist, temples or secret places known by the generic name of **Renü** (Augusta, 1966:208; Guevara, 1922:57; Moesbach, 1978:40; Ruiz Aldea, 1902:59; Titiev, 1951:110). The most important temples were those of **Salamanka** or "great temple of superior hierarchy" and the **Lof - Renü** or "great community temple" (Alonqueo, 1985:106). The common temple is called **Renü**. Ruiz Aldea (1902:59) sustains that the Reni (as he designates it) was also, and still is, visited by the sorcerers to communicate their knowledge, and give account of their work, and to solace themselves. Finally, the **Pichi - Renü** is the "small temple of lesser hierarchy" (Alonqueo, 1985:106). According to Alonqueo (1985:106) and Ruiz Aldea (1902:59), in the Renü there exist unworldly beings that terrrorize the neophytes or sorcerer candidates who arrive at that place for the first time. The mentioned authors provide the following list of such beings:

culebra = *Tachymenis peruviana* and *Dromicus chamissonis.*
lagartija = *Liolaemus chilensis.*
lagarto = *Callopistes maculatus.*
rana = *Rhinoderma darwini.*
sapo = *Cystignathus bibronii*
chivo = *Capra hircus.*
culebrón = without scientific classification (5).
huiña = *Felis guigna.*
león = *Felis puma.*

zorro = *Canis* or *Pseudolopex magellanicus.*

cernícalo = *Tinnunculus sparverius.*

chucao = *Pteroptochus.*

chuncho = *Glaucidium namun.*

halcón = *Falco sparverius.*

huairao = *Nycticorax cyanocephalus.*

lechuza = *Strix flammea.*

pequén = *Noctua cunicularia.*

peuco = *Buteo unicinctus.*

traro = *Polyborus trarus*

Those beings are "docile instruments and agents of the sorcerers" (Alonqueo, 1985:106), and are utilized by them to inflict evil. Each one of those living beings is a **huichancullín** or "allied animal of the kalkus" (Moesbach, 1978:40). The practitioners of black magic used, preferably, the bile of the mentioned reptiles and amphibians, mixing it with venomous herbs, thus obtaining the **fuñapue** which is a "powerful venom that kills man slowly" (Alonqueo, 1985:106). Any person attacked by this venom decays physically, and initiates the journey towards the grave. The patient is immediately treated by a machi who submits him/her to a machitun with which, generally, the Mapuche healer achieves the desired cure. As a form of thanking Ngenechen "for his kindness and generosity by saving him/her from death and placing him/her in the hands of a so sage and good machi" (Alonqueo, 1985:107), the recently healed sacrifices a lamb.

The principal agent of the wekufü is the sorcerer or kalku. Guided by his/her master, the sorcerer uses his/her wisdom to cause chaos, distrust, suffering, problems, illnesses, and death among the Mapuches. These malignant actions can be realized by himself in magico - ritual - propitiatory ceremonies called **kalkutun**, or he can appeal to "servants of evil" that facilitate his pernicious work. These servants can be grouped into four categories: atmospheric phenomena, biocosmology, human, and hybrid beings.

One of the atmospheric phenomena that is always at the service of the kalkus is fog. To the Mapuches, there exist two types of fog: the **chiway - trukur** or "whirled fog," and the **trukur - renü** (Alonqueo, 1985:117). The chiway - trukur encloses in itself malignant beings that cause those walking through the fog to become lost and disoriented. The trukur - renü is the fog concocted "by the diabolic actions of the sorcerers in the Renü temple and in the Lof - renü" (Alonqueo, 1985:117). As an efficient servant of the practitioners of black magic, the trukur - renü covers the Mapuche fields and **rucas** (houses) terrorizing the inhabitants. This diabolical fog compells the peasants to "prevent the exit of the livestock from the corrals" (Alonqueo, 1985:117); thus, the Mapuches avoid the loss of animals, diseases among them, or deformed broods.

One of the most feared winds among the Mapuches is the tornado or **meulen** (Alonqueo, 1985:104; Augusta, 1966:145). To Alonqueo, the meulen is "the incarnation of the devil that manifests itself in visible form through the air." Transformed into a tornado, the wekufü is used by the sorcerers to sprinkle evil as it displaces itself.

In the practice of black magic, the sorcerers utilize the services of two igneous beings that live in the interior of volcanoes: the **cheuwürfe**, **cherrufe**, **cheurfe**, **cheurfue**, **cheurpue** or **cherruve** (Alonqueo, 1985:104; Augusta, 1966:21; Gómez Fuentealba, 1972:219-20; Moesbach, 1978:157; Plath, 1973:335; Titiev, 1951:111) and the **wüfuche** or **wüyuche** (Alonqueo, 1985:105). With its power, the kalku draws out the cherrufe from its incandescent niche and makes it emerge from the volcano. Upon exiting, the cherruve is a ball of fire which "takes the form of a long igneous snake whose enormous head has a tongue of fire" (Alonqueo, 1985:104). This diabolical snake goes directly to the house of the victim the sorcerer has chosen, and attacks him/her, causing grave illness. The Mapuche thus assaulted by the cherrufe can only be cured by a good and powerful machi who, "with machitun, exorcism, and prayers" (Alonqueo, 1985:105), drives away the undesirable emisary of the kalku and its sequel of evil. Like the cherruve, the wüyuche also has the form of a long snake. Through the power of the wekufe and of the great sorcerers, that snake is "vomited through the crater of the volcano to produce social disturbances, discontent, and plagues among the Mapuches" (Alonqueo, 1985:105). According to Alonqueo (1985:105), the wüfuche "does not attack or produce death directly or individually, but rather in a collective and indirect manner, sowing many types of illnesses." Guided by Ngenechen, and using his/her profound knowledge of Mapuche ethnobotany, the machi is in charge of stopping the destructive action of the wüyuche and of re - establishing normality among the members of his/her people.

The biocosmological system the Mapuches have structured possesses a dark and sinister facet. In this facet, there exists an esoteric fauna - man interaction that has resulted in the emergence of supernatural beings. Having a composite form of two or more subforms of different beings of the animal kingdom, those mythical entities possess typical characteristics that are used by kalkudungun to individualize them as servants and executors of the orders of the wekufu and of the kalkus. The external appearance of some of those sinister servants of evil successfully masks the macabre intentions that guide them. With respect to this, Hill and Williams suggest that:

> "More usually a witch choses to assume the shape of some common and acceptable animal - a dog, cat, rabbit, toad, or bird - because the purpose of the disguise was to hide her activities and thus prevent people from recognizing her" (see Figure 74).
>
> Hill and Williams, 1989:194.

One of those beings desguised as "good and innocent" is the **wailleпeñ** or **huailleпeñ** (Alonqueo,1985:101; Moesbach, 1978:158; Plath, 1973:342-3). Alonqueo (1985:101) sustains that the wailleпeñ "takes the form of a lamb each time it is seen by human eyes." With that form, that "lamb" can approach the females (especially sheep and cows) to impregnate them. From this union are born deformed and/or mutilated broods, thus materializing the mission of the wailleпeñ: "to procreate defective beings" (Alonqueo, 1985:101). This can also happen with human beings. Plath (1973:343) suggests that "any pregnant woman who sees a huailleпeñ or hears it bellowing or dreams about it three consecutive nights, gives birth to a deformed child." The wailleпeñ can present itself with other forms, besides the ones previously mentioned. Plath (1973:343) affirms that this animal "has the appearance of a lamb whose head is that of an ox and the posterior end that of a seal." As a worthy representative of the forces of evil, the huailleпeñ has performed until now an important socio - cultural labor: "to justify and ensure" a deformed descent among animals so much as humans.

The **camahueto** (Moesbach, 1978:158; Plath, 1973:362-4) is another loyal servant of the sorcerers. According to Plath (1973:362), the camahueto is "a gigantic animal, armed with strong claws and the sharpest teeth, of enormous strength and great beauty. It is born and lives in rivers, until as an adult it emigrates to the sea." Plath (1973:362) adds that "there exist camahueto unicorns and bicorns. It possesses a great talent/power that is enclosed by its horns." The same author (1973:363-4) synthesizes the extraordinary characteristics of that fabulous animal as follows:"...eats people, it can change or vary climate as it pleases; it is sufficient to inter a small piece of its horn for it to immediately start to develop a new camahueto." The only ones who can hunt it down are the sorcerers. Once trapped, they extract its horns, with which they prepare a concoction that can cause a degree of madness in the person who ingests it. But the principal service the camahueto provides to the kalkus is "to transport them on his back when they visit distant regions" (Plath, 1973:362). The camahueto gives the sorcerers more power and more wisdom, and gives them the possibility to expand their domains.

The **colocolo** is one of the helpers of the sorcerers that with major assiduousness has been seen and heard by the Mapuches and peasants of the south of Chile (see note 5). Plath describes it in the following manner:

> "It is a subterranean lizard whose seed is in a degenerated or very small egg which the Mapuches suppose comes from a rooster. Incubated by the warmth of the sun, from that egg is born a snake or lizard that later takes the form of a rat with feathers."
>
> Plath, 1973:341-2.

The kalku introduces the colocolo inside a house to work evil magic on its occupants (Hill and Williams, 1989:194). That strange animal "extracts the blood and saliva of people and originates tuberculosis" (Moesbach, 1978:158). Due to the efficacy with which the colocolo infects the person attacked by it, that animal is one of the beings most feared by the Mapuches.

The good/evil dualism that lays the foundation of the Mapuche belief system is intimately united to nature. In this way, water, being the regenerating fluid of life in Mapucheland, also has a sinister side: it is the niche of the **ngërüfilú** or **ngërüvilú** and the **trëlkewekufe** or **trelquehuecuvü** (Alonqueo, 1985:100-1; Moesbach, 1978:158). Those two agents of evil live in rivers, lakes, lagoons, and swamps. The swimmers and transient inhabitants that frequent those places are in mortal danger of being entrapped by the ngërüfilú or by the trëlkewekufe. These animals hurt their prey by enveloping and carrying them to the depths to "suck their blood. After satisfying their necessities they release them leaving them to the whim of the currents"

(Alonqueo, 1985:100-1; also Moesbach, 1978:58). Moesbach (1978:158) describes the ngëruvilu as "a reptile with the head of a fox. It has an enormous tail with which it envelops its victims and holds them at the bottom of the river." The same author sustains that Chileans call the trëlkewekufe "**manta** or hide because it has the shape of a cow's hide or a sheep's hide, embroidered with designs of sharp claws" (Moesbach, 1978:158). Alonqueo (1985:101) affirms that once the trelquehuecuvü is satisfied with the blood it has extracted from its victim, "it goes to inhospitable places, to a beach where no people go. There it rests on the lawn." There exist many narrations referring to that diabolical hide that has taken the lives of numerous men, women, and children. Some accounts refer to really dramatic cases of mothers who have left their babies "on a soft and beautiful manta", a blanket that in a certain moment quickly envelops the baby; and, diving into the water, disappears with it. The ngërufilú and the trëlkewekufe are two of the most sanguinary entities the forces of evil use to accomplish their task: to bring harm to human beings.

Mapuche biocosmology has centralized in the **pirvüchen**, **piguchén**, **piuchén**, **pihuichén** or **piwichen** (Alonqueo, 1985:102; Augusta, 1966:196; Moesbach, 1978:158; Plath, 1973:340; Titiev, 1951:110) the most harmful action that a servant of the kalkus realizes: to kill human beings and animals by sucking their blood, "action it executes at a distance, with the affected not being aware of it" (Plath, 1973:341). Any person attacked by a piuchén suffers from rickets or malnutrition, and dies of tuberculosis (Alonqueo, 1985:102). Alonqueo (1985:102) defines the piuchén as a rooster or a **pidén** (*Rallus rythyrynchus*). Augusta (1966:196) sustains that that animal is a type of serpent which with time grows wings and flies, but lacks feathers. The same author suggests that "when it infects a house, all its occupants must die; the only means of escape is to remove themselves, across flowing waters" (Augusta, 1966:196). Only a good and powerful machi can heal the person attacked by a piguchén. With respect to this belief, Alonqueo (1985:102) affirms categorically that "the machi who succeeds in curing this illness, achieves great fame, for which he/she is sought and preferred by people." The renown for some of the successses they have achieved as winners of numerous battles against the forces of evil, transcends the geographical boundaries of Mapuche land. It is in this manner that in the past, so much as in the present, many non - Mapuches turn to those famous machis to be treated and cured by them, specifically in cases of some ill persons who could not be cured by the "science of the city." In this way, there has emerged a nexus which, based on the prestige, power, and knowledge of the machis, has facilitated the interaction between Chilean society and Mapuche society.

In the practice of black magic, the kalkus have used man to destroy man. Utilizing babies, children, and spirits of the recently deceased, the sorcerers create sinister beings with which they practice evil. One of these beings is the **anchimalen**, **añchimallen**, **anchümalhuén**, **kuliu kuliu namún**, **pichi meulen** or "girl who carries light (**anchi** = phosphorescent light; **malen** = girl)" (Alonqueo, 1985:110-1; Hilger, 1966:46; Moesbach, 1978:157; Titiev, 1951:112; Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:58). Alonqueo (1985:111) tells us that using a carpal bone of a baby, and through the magic arts, "the sorcerers create an añchimallen or rachitic being of slender legs whose food is human blood." This being is visible at night by the phosphorescence it radiates upon walking. Upon displacing itself it opens its mouth, revealing little lights (anchi) between its teeth (Alonqueo, 1985:111). During the day, the anchimalen appears in the form of a small whirlwind (pichi meulen) (Alonqueo, 1985:111), a form that permits it to mobilize itself with greater ease, thus sprinkling evil as it moves. It produces shivers, fever, headaches and bone aches in the adults attacked (Alonqueo, 1985:111); in children, fear, screams, crying and vomiting (Rosa Chihuaihuén, cited by Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:58).

The **ivunche** or **imbunche** (**ivüm**, **ifüm** = distended, hypertrophied; **che** = human being-

Moesbach, 1978:122) is one of the great servants of evil. This deformed entity is the final product of the diabolical manipulations of the sorcerers. To obtain an imbunche, the kalkus "deform a child from his/her first months of life, practicing with him/her several dislocations and twistings, thus achieving a man - beast" (Plath, 1973:358). Moesbach (1978:122) and Plath (1973:358) describe the imbunche as "a deformed human being who bares its face turned towards its back. Walks only on one leg as the other is glued from behind to the back of the head." This being performs the following functions: "counselor of the sorcerers, instrument of their vengeances and curses; and is the porter of the cave of the kalkus" (Plath, 1973:358). Its favorite food is "sheep meat and human meat" (Plath, 1973:359). This same author affirms that the food the imbunche needs "must be served by the sorcerers, because it must not leave the cave it guards" (Plath, 1973:359). When its masters do not feed it at the usual intervals, that man - beast leaves in search of food. It roams the Mapuche fields, terrorizing those who hear its "bleat like an old goat" (Plath, 1973:359) with which it announces its presence.

To Mapuche society, "man is composed of two essential distinct susbstances: the corruptible body or **anca**, and the soul which is **ancanolu** (incorporeal) and **mugealu** (eternal)" (Molina, 1978:123). **Alwe**, **am**, **pëllü**, and **kuifiche** are the four manifestations/states of the Mapuche soul. The alwe "appears at the instant of death, remains tied to its cadaver, and disappears with its dissolution" (Moesbach, 1978:22). The same author sustains that the am is:

> "The spirit of a recently deceased person in its transitory state - it remains around its cadaver. Later it exists around its tomb or family. During this time it takes part in the everyday life of its relatives, and attends their parties; and is present in their thoughts and dreams. Later the am takes

> the form of pëllü, a state under which it travels to the place of the spirits."
>
> Moesbach, 1978:195-6.

To Augusta (1966:7), the am is "the shadow of the deceased; the soul separated from the body, or the deceased that subsists in an indefinite manner, more material than spiritual (dead person that haunts)." As Moesbach (1978) already mentioned, the am reaches the level of pëllü that is the state immediately previous to that of **kuifiche**. In his "Diccionario Araucano - Español y Español - Araucano," Augusta (1966:104) writes that the word **kuifi** means "ancient, very old." Thus kuifiche designates the superior state of the Mapuche soul; that is to say, its level of ancestral spirit.

In black art, the soul is one of the essential elements that the practitioners of magic manipulate with the purpose of succeeding in their dark work. Through their power, the kalkus are capable of capturing the alwe "upon exiting the body of a cadaver, and forcing it to serve them in their sorcery." (Moesbach, 1978:22). In this way the **witranalwe**, **wichanalwe**, or **chayanckadi** is born (Alonqueo, 1985:110; Augusta, 1966:6,274; Titiev, 1951:111). According to Moesbach (1978:113), the word wichanalwe can be analyzed as follows: "**huichan** = to come together, to become allied; **alhue** = soul of recently deceased." Alonqueo (1985:110) suggests that this being is a "transparent human skeleton, with a soul different from the one it possessed in life."

With the purpose of materializing the desire to harm someone in particular, an individual can contract the services of a kalku that possesses a witranalwe, which, obeying orders from its master, locates the victim and destroys him/her. Augusta (1966:274) affirms that that destruction is the result of the capacity of the wichanalwe of "introducing itself into the body of a person to puncture his/her heart and suck his/her blood." Besides its destructive ability, the witranalwe has the power of increasing and ensuring the material wealth of the person who possesses it. With respect to this belief, Alonqueo affirms that:

> "The general opinion of the Mapuche is that the person possessing a witranalwe gains riches very easily, because it is a source of good luck; besides, it is the guardian of the house, good and careful **campero** (field guard), that protects the property of its master by day or night."
>
> Alonqueo, 1985:110.

The witranalwe performs that socio - economic function with great accuracy, roaming the land belonging to its master, guarding and terrorizing with its presence those who wish to steal or in some way harm the property of its master. Titiev (1951:111) suggests that from the shape of the witranalwe, only "its outline may be seen but never its face." This author affirms that:

> "a witranalwe goes about only by night, on horseback. Its favorite trick is to bedevil and mislead any person traveling after dark, and to meet a witranalwe is a sure omen of disaster, sickness, or death."
>
> Titiev, 1951:111.

Mapuche black magic distinguishes three dismal and macabre moments that emerge with the evolution of every day: night, morning, and midday. The night is the stage on which the forces of evil act through their servants (wekufü, kalkus, and evil supernatural beings); the morning, with its gloomy fog or trukur-renü, brings veiling threats; and the midday, when "the sun stands still", some malignant beings materialize their shapes, thus causing illnesses, calamities, and problems. Between 11:30 A.M. and 11:50 A.M. it is possible to observe in Mapucheland some of the activities its inhabitants realize with the principal objective of preventing and/or mitigating the negative effects an encounter with some servants of evil causes. One of those activities is to round up and direct animals (horses, cows, sheep, oxen) to their corrals or proximity to Mapuche houses. The peasants place those animals under safeguard, thus avoiding perverse beings such as the waillepeñ, pirvüchen, imbunche, witranalwe, or the meulen, killing, infecting, deforming, or mutilating those animals, or causing females to give birth to defective broods. In this manner, the black time enclosed between 12:00 noon and 2:00 P.M. passes without major consequences for them (Figures 17 and 18). With reference to humans, Mapuche mothers must look after their children with greater care during the time between midday and 2:00 P.M. If during that time a child goes to play far from his house, he could have an encounter with some evil being. With respect to this, and by way of example, when a child has an encounter with the **anchimallen** or **trafentui anchimallen** (Rosa Chihuaihuén, cited by Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:58), he will become ill. According to Rosa Chihuaihuén:

> "at midday the sun 'stands still' because it is very hot, the little devil at this time goes out to play with the children. Then if a child goes out to play at midday, the anchimallen plays with him."
>
> Rosa Chihuaihuén, cited by Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:58.

The disease the child contracts by having seen an anchimallen can be cured "with an infusion of **huevil** (*Vestia lycioides*) and **tabaco** (*Nicotina tabacum*) with which the ill person is massaged over the entire body. This mixture also distances the anchimallen from the children" (Rosa Chihuaihén, cited by Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:58). One of the situations of danger that an adult must avoid, especially at midday, is a possible encounter with the wekufü, designated in Mapudungun as "**trafentui huecuwe** or encounter with the devil" (Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:59). That being appears in the shape of a whirlwind which "chases and scares the person, causing him/her great agitation and makes him/her sweat copiously" (Rosa Cabrera, cited by Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:59). That psycho-physical over-exaltation can be normalized with "a tea containing **malva del monte** (*Hydrocotyle poeppigii*), a child's urine (less than five years old), and wine. The sick person must drink that infusion twice a day until healed" (Rosa Cabrera, cited by Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:59).

The Mapuche black art reaches its maximum expression in the **choñ-choñ** or **tué-tué** (Alonqueo, 1985:111-13; Hilger, 1966:54-5; Plath, 1973:118-19; Poeppig, 1960:363-64; Ruiz Aldea, 1902:58-9,61; Victoria, 1965:47). The choñ-choñ is the hybrid being most representative of the mythical Mapuche fauna. Its shape originates from the human body and from the fundamental part of the anatomy of a bird; that is, the wings: it is a human head that grows ears which transform into a pair of wings that permit it to fly. This is the form that the sorcerers of greater power acquire each time they wish to attend their secret reunions, announce death, terrorize and threaten people, cause diseases or to kill. Ascribing importance to the definition that Alonqueo provides of the choñ-choñ or tué-tué, I reproduce here his description:

> "To attend the date of the renü, the rüm-kalku realizes the following operation that transforms it into an invisible being: it detaches its head from the body, converting itself into a winged being, whose ears serve as wings; and in this way takes flight to arrive at the place of reunion. During its flight it caws with its voice 'tué, tué, tué or choñ, choñ, choñ...' This caw it repeats three times every certain distance. While the head flies in space and attends reunions, participating in the great discussions and determinations in the Lof - renü, the body remains in the house or in the **kawito** (bed), motionless." Alonqueo, 1985:111-12.

As stated, the rüm-kalku possesses magic abilities which are summarized in its two great powers: "the power of metamorphosis and the power of flight (which is often called transvection)" (Hill and Williams, 1989:194). The power of flight facilitates the choñ-choñ in the execution of all its harmful functions. As I have previously mentioned, one of those functions is to announce the death of a person that the kalku has previously chosen as victim. Here, it is useful to repeat the words of Huenun Ñamku, who, in a conversation with Ines Hilger, affirms categorically that:

> "If a choñchoñ circles around a ruka at night, giving out calls and weird cries, a person in that ruka will soon die. Near my ruka there is a row of trees, and one time a choñchoñ called and cried out there. Not long after that one of my daughters took sick and died. Choñchoñ is never seen but only heard" (6).
>
> Hilger, 1966:54.

One of the most efficient ways to conjure the sinister presence of the choñ-choñ is by sacrificing a sheep to extract the gall bladder. This organ must be hung from a branch of a tree next to the houses whose inhabitants do not wish to hear the ominous caws of the tué-tué. The gall bladder has the power to scare away the choñ-choñ from that place (Figure 19).

The great power of the wekufü, of the kalkus, and of the various evil supernatural beings that in gloomy harmony perform, many times successfully, their functions and activities, is counteracted by the servants of white magic. Guided by the principal purpose of doing good; restoring the destructive sequel of the acts of malignant beings; and identifying the guilty party(ies) of some harm, problem, illness or death among the Mapuches, the **machi**, the **copolave**, the **pewün**, the **peumafe**, and the **pelon** are the five white warriors who tenaciously fight against the servants of evil. The practitioners of white magic act as guided fundamentally by an ancient wisdom arising from ancestral Mapuche cosmological roots, wisdom which I have denominated **traditional - supernatural wisdom**.

In Mapuche society, and as one of the true nexus that unites the sensible with the suprasensible world, the machi refines and purifies the necessary wisdom to confront the occult powers that sustain the dark world of black magic. The power of the machi is based on two essential aspects. First, he or she is the final product of two processes: a) call and election by **Ngenechen**, supreme Mapuche deity who choses her/him and stimulates her/him spiritually and psychologically so that she/he will accept her/his condition of machi; and b) his/her initiation as machi by other machis of greater power and wisdom who, in the ancient and mythical ceremony of the **ngeikurrewen**, transform him/her into a true Mapuche priest/healer. Second, the new machi reaches a profound knowledge of man and nature which enables him/her to perform all the actions and activities proper of his/her divine/human work.

In the initiating ceremony, the machi receives the ritual objects that will help him/her to perform his/her work with greater capacity. These objects are: **rewe** (private altar), **kultrun** (ritual drum), **wadza** (rattle made with a gourd), **kaskawilla** (metallic rattle), two flags (blue, white), branches of sacred plants (**canelo**, **maqui**, **laurel**, **manzano**, **avellano**, **colihue**). Alonqueo (1985:58) adds to this list "a silver dagger, a clay jar filled with medicinal plants (**metawelawen**), and new silver jewelry" (Figures 20 and 21). The ceremony of the ngeikurrewen reaches its maximum expression when the assistants of the newly-initiated machi place the rewe in front of her house, facing East. As a symbol of power and wisdom, the rewe will be the coadjutor of the machi during the course of her life; upon her death, that altar will accompany her to the hereafter (Figure 22). All the objects/symbols of the machi perform the vital function of giving transcendency and sense to the Mapuche system of beliefs. With respect to this symbolism, Jung (1973:76) sustains that "it is the role of religious symbols to

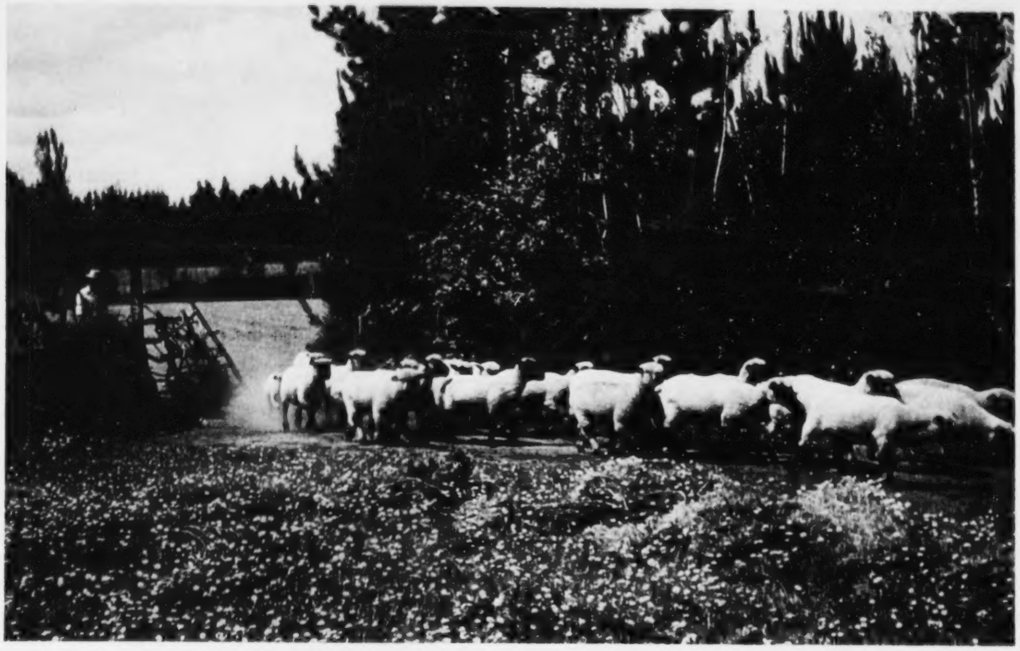

Figure 17. Mapuche magic. Midday evil spirits. A Mapuche man entices a flock of sheep towards the corral. Time 11:50 a.m. Place: Chomio, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by the author, 1978).

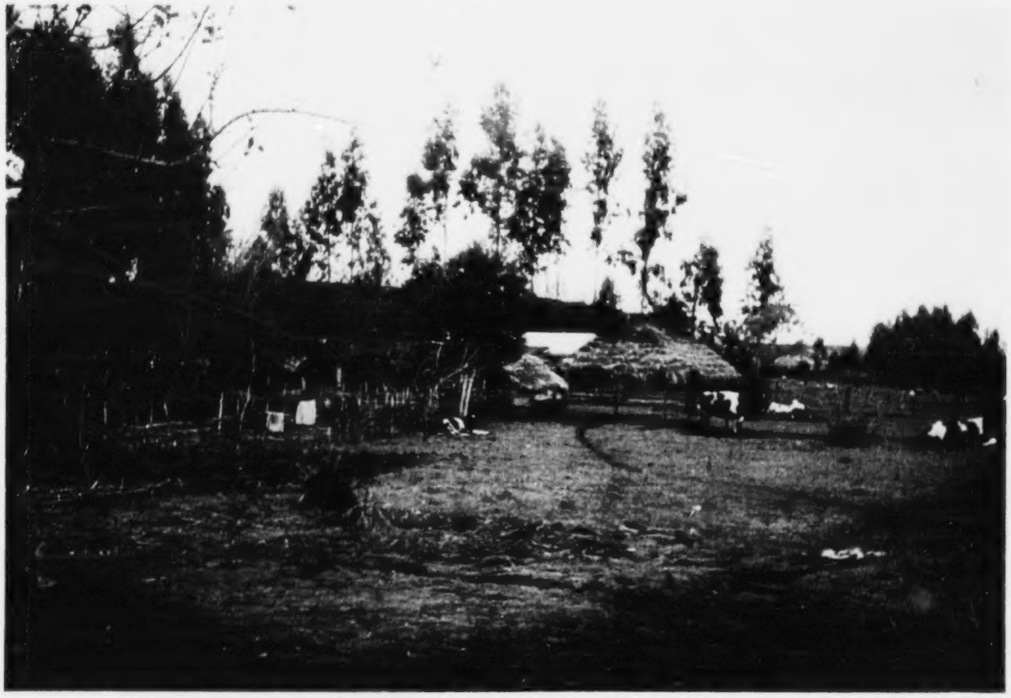

Figure 18. Mapuche magic. Midday evil spirits. In this scene, one may observe three oxen beside Mapuche houses. With the purpose of evading the midday evil spirits, those animals were left there at 11:45 a.m. Place: Chomio.
(Photograph by the author, 1978).

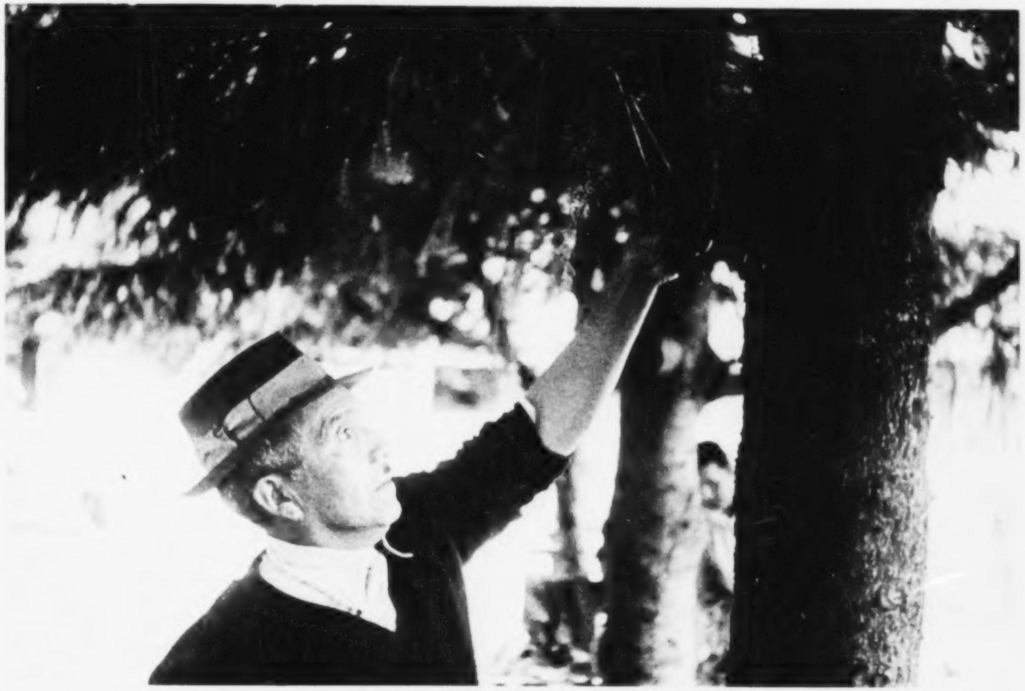

Figure 19. Mapuche magic (**kalkudungun**). The **lonko** Francisco Lemunao hanging the gall bladder of a lamb - previously sacrificed by him - from a small branch of a tree. This ritual has the purpose of distancing the **choñ-choñ** or **tué-tué** from the house, and from the place where Francisco and his family live.
Pircunche, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by the author, 1978).

give a meaning to the life of man," meaning that the Mapuches have valued and preserved until the present.

With the purpose of completing this abbreviated analysis of the ceremony known in Mapudungun as **ngeikurrewen**, it is necessary to point out that this concept implies two situations. First, it designates the initiating ceremony in which a common Mapuche (man or woman) is transformed into a machi. Second, it indicates the special/particular ceremony that every machi must realize every so often with the purpose of renewing his/her rewe and/or its apparel along with her/his vows of Mapuche priest/healer. In the ngeikurrewen, the machi's kin group, lonkos, consecrating machis, and the entire community cyclically revitalize religious, social, cultural, and political values that provide validity and a perennial nature to the ethnicity and persistence of Mapuche society (7).

The rewe and the kultrun, two of the vital symbols that define and identify each machi, appear in Figures 20 and 21.

In Figure 20, machi Manuel Morales bears in his hands the kultrun of the author on whose cover he had graphed magical/ritual symbols whose profound significance he communicated to me only partially (see Figure 33). Previous to the taking of this photograph, Manuel performed a ritual which very few **winkas** (non - Mapuches) have been permitted to observe. Due to the esoteric/religious connotations that that severe and rigid ritual possessed, it is not possible for me to comment here in extenso everything referring to it. I can only strongly affirm that machi Manuel and his assistants realized activities with which all the participants - myself included - lived an intense mystical, religious, and psychological experience with which they materialized a clear and firm contact with the spiritual world. When photograph number 20 was taken by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez in 1970, Manuel had a rewe of four powers or skies, a quantity he can increase according to the prestige and power he may reach in accordance to the quality and value of his activities as Mapuche priest/healer.

With the exception of the natural rattle or **wadza**, in Figure 21 there appears a female machi with her objects/symbols that objectify her high investiture as intermediary between her people and the supernatural world. In this photograph it is possible to observe a rewe of four steps or powers dressed with a white flag and a blue one that are supported by **colihues** (*Chusquea coleu*) acting as flag poles. On either side, the rewe has branches of **canelo** (*Drimys winteri*). The machi holds the kultrun in her left hand, and in her right a short piece of colihue with which she beats her ritual drum. In the same hand, she also shows a metallic rattle or **kaskawilla**. All these ritual instruments, united to the power that Ngenechen has given her to convert her into a machi, and to the great mastery of human anatomy she possesses along with profound knowledge of Mapuche ethnobotany, enable the machi to fight against the sinister activities of the practitioners of black magic. This struggle is based on a traditional knowledge which until the present continues to give triumphs to the machis in their lethal wars against evil and its servants.

The fundamental method that traditional - supernatural wisdom has institutionalized through the epochs of the development of Mapuche society is divination. This method permits the practitioners of white magic:

- To hear and understand the messages of Ngenechen and of the spirits.
- To diagnose and treat "illnesses of supernatural origin (provoked by the action of the huecuve or of the kalkus), and the ones of natural origin (caused by environmental factors)" (Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:18).
- To discover and identify the guilty party(ies) responsible for the illness or death of one or several members of Mapuche society who succumbed victims of the manipulations of some servant of the forces of evil.
- To know the cause of the evil that afflicts a person, family, or the entire community.
- To prevent situations of danger that threaten one or all the Mapuches.

- To predict the future.

All the potentialities that divination offers to those interested in comprehending and manipulating supernatural forces are synthesized in the following definition:

> "divination is a magical operation that expresses most completely man's desire to rationalize the forces of the universe. The divinatory arts comprise the many methods of predicting the future and of discovering hidden things."
>
> Hill and Williams, 1989:162.

Constable (1988:7) states that "Divination is the art of discovering hidden knowledge through the interpretations of omens and symbols."

Controlling the forces of the universe, predicting the future, rediscovering the esoteric knowledge that is hidden in nature and in the intangible world that transcends the senses, and finding lost objects, are four of the principal potentialities of divination. With the purpose of understanding more clearly the concepts that appear in the column entitled **traditional - supernatural wisdom** in Figure 16 which I am analyzing, it is necessary to affirm that there exist diverse methods of divination. "there are many traditional techniques (of natural divination), each with its own title ending in **mancy**, a suffix based on the the Greek word **mantis**, meaning 'diviner' or 'prophet' (Constable, 1988:32)." The divining method that unites all the practitioners of white magic is **oneiromancy** or "divination by the interpretation of dreams and night visions" (Constable, 1988:35; Hill and Williams, 1989:162). Molina (1978:122) affirms that "to the Araucanos, and to nearly all nations, dreams and the singing and flight of birds are esteemed as the truest interpreters of the gods." In one of the essential parts of a song/prayer that a Mapuche woman postulant to machi status directs to Ngenechen, there appear the following expressions:

> "Chao Dios, give me talents and benedictions to accomplish your great task for which you have chosen me.... You have called

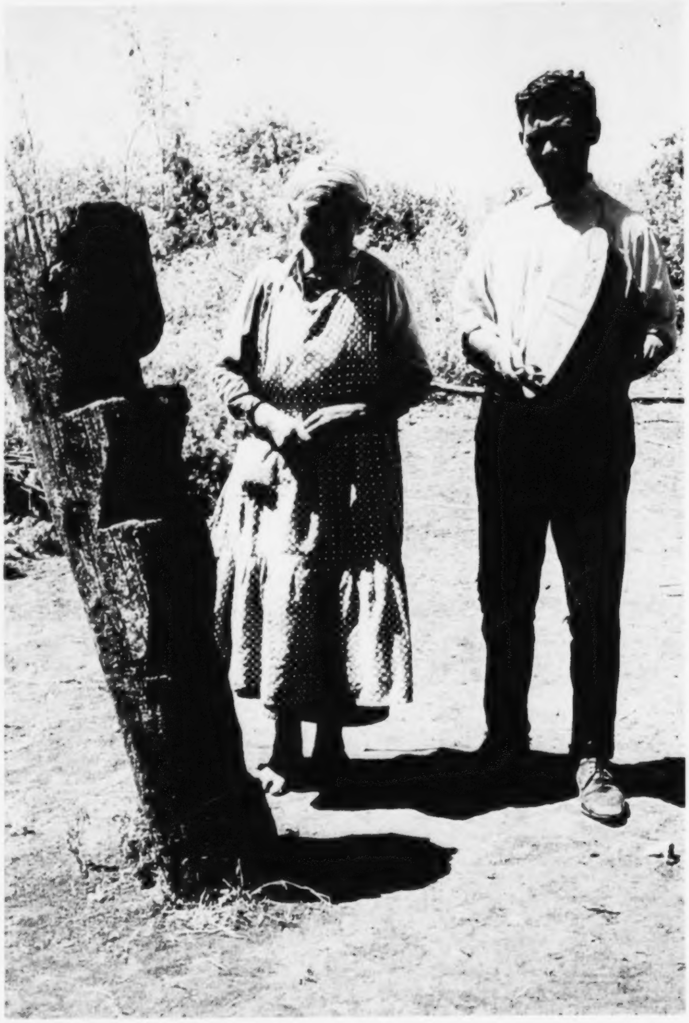

Figure 20. **Machi** Manuel Morales Lemuñir - standing beside his mother - holding in his hands the author's **kultrun**. This photograph was taken by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez (1970) at the moment immediately following the ritual in which the machi graphed designs on the cover of the kultrun. In this scene, Manuel's private altar (**rewe**), that shows four steps or powers / skies, can be observed.
Maquehue, province of Cautín, Chile.

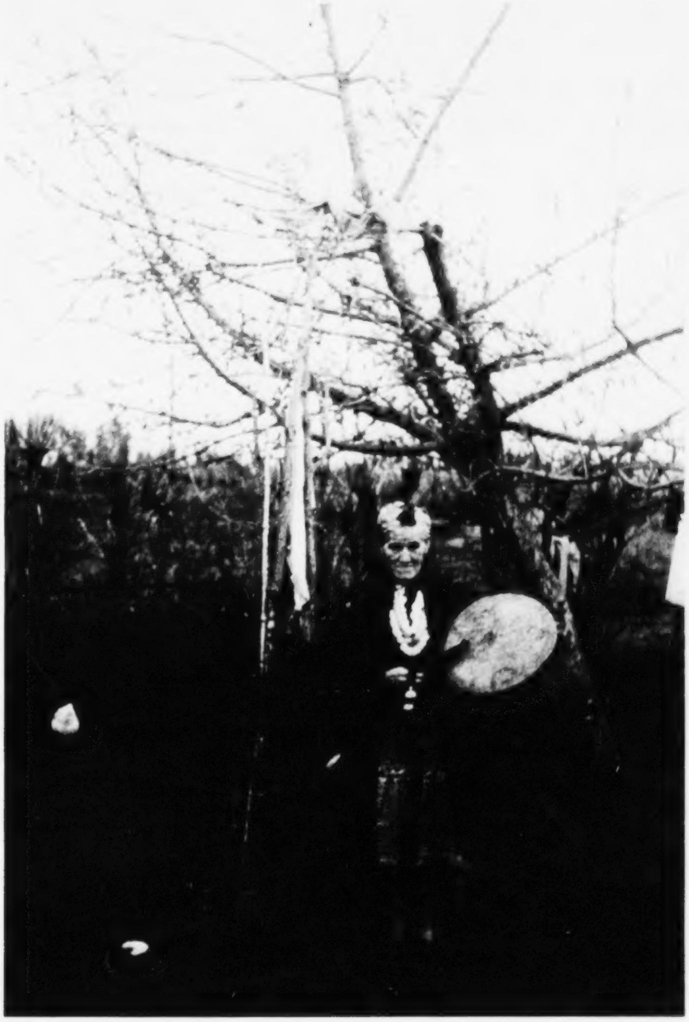

Figure 21. **Machi** (woman) beside her **rewe** of four powers or skies. In her left hand, she sustains her kultrun: in her right, the **kaskawilla** (metallic rattles). Note a blue flag and a white one that - as esoteric symbols of each machi - adorn her rewe.
Chomio, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by the author, 1976).

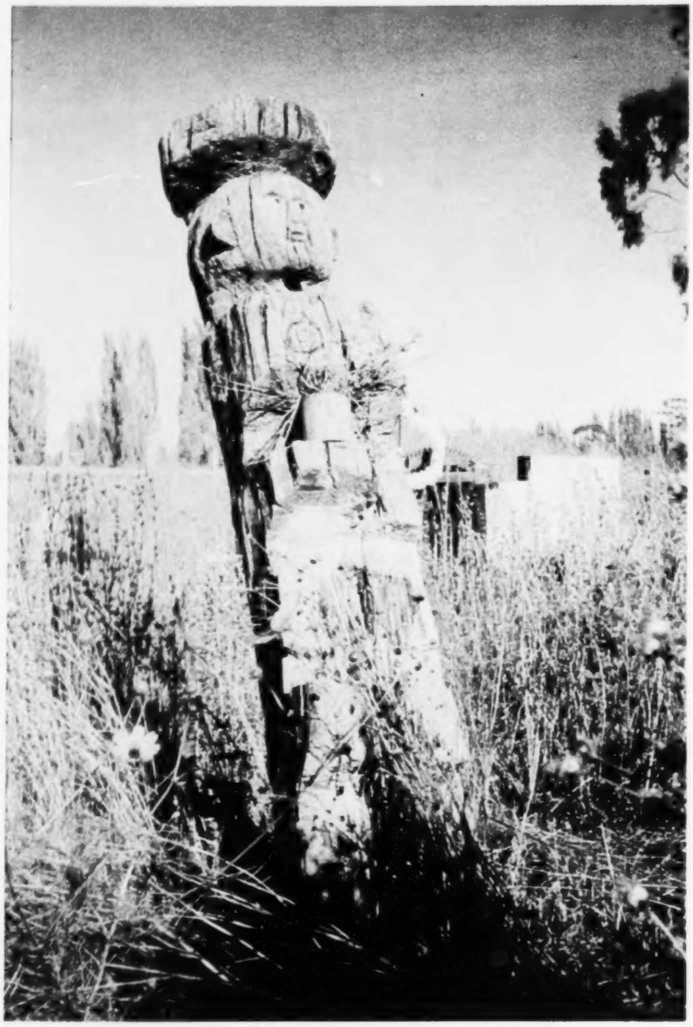

Figure 22. **Machi** in her grave. At the feet of the machi, the rewe or private altar that she used as Mapuche priestess / healer marks her burial place.
Nueva Imperial, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by Marcelo Fancelli Muñoz, 1976).

> me and chosen me from among your creatures for this mission (of machi).... You called me even while in the maternal womb, even through the revealing dreams of my mother and myself."
>
> Alonqueo, 1985:60.

After an intensive and profound analysis of the unconscious of humanity, the great Swiss psychologist Carl Gustav Jung (1875 - 1961) summarizes his experiences in his two conclusions that directly relate to the relation divinity - dream - Mapuche which preoccupies us. The first conclusion is the affirmation that scientific/technological development united to the rapid growth of human population has propelled man into abandoning his true natural roots, behavior that is transforming him into a being who wishes to dominate nature; that is, to be its master, not an integral part of it. This idea is centralized in the following assertion:

> "There are no longer any gods whom we can invoke to help us. The great religions of the world suffer from increasing anemia, because the helpful numina have fled from the woods, rivers, and mountains, and from animals; and the god-men have disappeared underground into the unconscious. Our present lives are dominated by the goddess Reason, who is our greatest and most tragic illusion."
>
> Jung, 1973:91.

Due to this separation, to this distancing from mother nature, the present rational man has left in the past his pristine interaction with god. This reflection takes us to the second conclusion of Jung:

> "We are so captivated by and entangled in our subjective

> consciousness that we have forgotten the age-old fact that God speaks chiefly through dreams and visions."
>
> Jung, 1973:92.

To complete Jung's thought referring to the relation God - man, it is necessary to reproduce here his own words that reflect, once more, the rupture that modern man, through the development of his rational power which has converted materialism into a true deity, has produced in his contact with divinity:

> "Christians often ask why God does not speak to them, as he is believed to have done in former days. When I hear such questions, it always makes me think of the rabbi who was asked how it could be that God often showed himself to people in the olden days while nowadays nobody ever sees him. The rabbi replied: 'Nowadays there is no longer anybody who can bow low enough'."
>
> Jung, 1973:92.

Embedded in nature itself, the roots of Mapuche religion still preserve the vital sap with which the ancestors of that society objectified the bases of a belief system that still survives in the Mapuche soul (see Chapter 5 "Symbology of the nguillatun"). This assertion constitutes proof of the veracity of Jung's philosophy insofar as its "other truth", that is, the fact that the Mapuches have preserved and cultivated the contact with their divinity. In their prayers/songs, the machis periodically revive their relation with Ngenechen, who hears them and responds to their prayers. The machi/god interaction is reaffirmed daily in the **pillañtun** or morning prayer the machis perform while standing in front of their rewe. In this type of prayer, the machis communicate to Ngenechen that they have received the message it provided to them in a dream or a vision. They also thank it for having made known the future and, in special situations, the precise treatment they must apply to a sick person whom the machis must heal. By way of example, I will transcribe a pillañtun:

> "Today I got up before daybreak to pray to you, because I had a vision. Benignly you will hear me; I am your machi and in dreams you have ordained me: 'Before dawn, you shall rise.' With this motive I got up, I will pray to you, father God, that are in the heights; I am machi by your mandate and my prayers you have suggested to me. Give me in favorable visions news: What will the future bring? How will the year be? I pray for us so that we may have a good year and not bad, so that we may enjoy good times, I and the ones you have entrusted to my care."
>
> Moesbach, 1973:347-49.

The great experience that for more than fifty years Jung accumulated thanks to the analysis and interpretation of dreams, permit him to affirm categorically that:

> "From the written records of all times and peoples we learn of significant and prophetic dreams, of warning dreams and of healing dreams sent by the gods."
>
> Jung, 1970:7.

To the machi, this type of dream forms the esoteric base that enable him/her to confront, many times with great success, the past, present, and future of his/her people. In the specific case of the treatment of an illness/evil that afflicts a person due to the intervention of some servant of the forces of evil, "the machi verifies the action of the kalkus through oneiric messages divinity will reveal to him/her" (Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:20). Oneiromancy is one of the divination methods most used by the machi in the adequate performance of all his/her functions and activities proper of his/her condition of Mapuche priestess and healer. Besides the dreams and visions, the machi possesses an ancestral knowledge which, based on divination systems, permits her/him to discover the guilty party(ies) of some problem, illness, or death caused by the practitioners of black magic; to prevent situations of danger that in the near future could threaten the normal development of Mapuche life; to conjure the presence and/or effect of actions provoked by the wekufu, kalkus, or evil supernatural beings; and to diagnose and treat diverse natural illnesses.

Following, I will mention the traditional systems of divination that have given the most success to the machis so much in the past as in the present: a) System of divination related with atmospheric phenomena. **Aeromancy** or "divination by the observation of atmospheric phenomena (Constable, 1988:35). b) System of divination related with the mineral kingdom. **Halomancy** or "divination by casting salt into fire" (Constable, 1988:35). Hill and Williams (1989:199) sustain that "salt is a prime ingredient in white magic." In Mapuche beliefs, besides its mineral value which permits to predict future events, salt has the power to scare away the choñ-choñ or tué-tué from the place over which it flies and/or passes by. To keep the tué-tué away "it is necessary to pour salt on the kitchen's fire" (Plath, 1973:118-19), making crosses over it.

c) System of divination related with Mapuche biocosmology: **Floromancy** or "divination by the study of flowers or plants" (Constable, 1988:35). **Xylomancy** or "divination by interpreting the appearance of fallen tree branches or observing the positions of burning logs" (Constable, 1988:35). **Alectryomancy** or "divination by poultry" (Hill and Williams, 1989:162; Constable, 1988:34). **Myomancy** or "divination by the sounds, actions or sudden appearance of rats or mice" (Constable, 1988:35). **Apantomancy**, which "explores the significance of meeting animals" (Constable, 1988:32). **Zoomancy** or "divination by reports of imaginary animals" (Constable, 1988:35). **Haruspicy** or "divination through the inspection of the entrails of sacrificed animals for signs of the God's wishes" (Constable, 1988:34). To the Mapuches, the gizzard of fowl encloses a secret code. Once the gizzard is cut in two halves and then opened, the machi or another expert may decipher the message contained in its interior which, in most instances, predicts the future.

d) System of divination related to man. The practitioners of white magic use the body and soul of man to know the past, present, and future. Those practitioners can scrutinize/decipher the secret code that is enclosed by the eyes, liver, bile, and urine of human beings. Thus, **irisomancy** or "divination by the size, shape of the iris, and the degree of brilliancy or opacity of the eyes" communicates to the machi the health status and the problems affecting a determined; person, at the same time it objectifies the future. The Mapuches use the word **puralihue** to designate "life, a type of visible spirit in the brilliance of the eyes; its absence leaves the pupils opaque and indicates death" (Moesbach, 1978:208).

From ancient times, the human liver, as is the case with that of animals, has constituted one of the open books from which the machi can read messages which facilitate the recognition of illnesses, the cause of death of a human being, and to see the future. This system of divination is known by the name of **hepatoscopy** or "liver gazing." Hill and Williams sustain that in the past:

> "The priests were masters of the art of divination, predicting the future from the livers of slaughtered animals, from fire and smoke, from the brilliance of precious stones, and from the weather."
>
> Hill and Williams, 1989:144.

It is possible to visualize "a Babylonian clay model of a sheep's liver marked with squares as a guide for prediction" (Hill and Williams, 1989:60). In "Visions and Prophecies" (Constable, 1988) there appears an illustration that shows a:

> "bronze model of a sheep's liver that served as a guide for ancient Etruscans learning the complex art of hepatoscopy. Each of the model's forty segments, as well as the raised areas, is associated with a different god or element of nature."
>
> Constable, 1988:32.

As I have mentioned before, the Mapuches replaced the vanished **weke** by the Spanish lamb, an animal that, according to the Mapuche system of beliefs, continued to be the screen on which it is possible to observe aspects of the natural and supernatural worlds. Figures 23, 24, 25, and 26 summarize the four essential moments of the preparation of the **seated lamb apol**, which is one of the most ancient ritual forms the Mapuches still practice to sacrifice a lamb. Based on hepatoscopy and on haruspicy, the expert Mapuche visionaries interpret and transform into words the silent language hidden in the apol or "the lungs filled with the blood" (Augusta, 1966:11), and in the organs and glands, of the sacrificed animal.

Urine is one of the human fluids most used by the machi to discover the cause and/or the type of illness that affects a person. **Uromancy** or "divination by inspection of urine" (Constable, 1988:35) enables the Mapuche healer to diagnose and treat natural and supernatural illnesses. The result of the manipulations with which a sorcerer achieves one of his/her principal objectives, that is, to cause illness, can be detected by the machi, who "confirms the action of the kalkus by analyzing the urine (the **humor**) of the patient" (Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:20). At present, the machis are consulted by Mapuches and non - Mapuches, who must provide a sample of their urine to the healer, who, guided by the esoteric knowledge of uromancy she possesses, will diagnose and will prescribe the medicines she herself prepares for each particular patient. In many cases, the patient may send a sample of his/her urine which the machi will utilize to discover the origin of the ailment that patient suffers.

This non - presence of the patient is extended to another divining system which I have designated with the name of **costumomancy** or "divination through the observation of clothing". Montecino and Conejeros (1985:20) affirms that "the machi confirms the action of the sorcerers (kalkus) through clothing (normally interior garments with which the ill person slept the night before consulting the machi)." Uromancy and costumomancy make it possible for the machi to examine "at a distance" those patients who, due especially to the severity of their illnesses, are not able to visit the machi personally. This situation permits a strong communication among patients who live far from Mapucheland and from the machi they have chosen to effect their recovery. In this manner, the Mapuche priestess/healer materializes one of the nexus with which the Mapuches establish clearer and more precise social, ritual, and cultural interaction with the "great society of the **winkas**."

Of all the systems of divination related with man, **anthropomancy** or "divination through human sacrifice" (Constable, 1988:32) constitutes the supreme effort that the practitioners of kalkudungun realize to come to know the past, comprehend the present, and to see the future. Using man's body as a ritual/propitiatory object, the two principal practitioners of white magic, that is, the machi and the copolave, discover, interpret, and communicate to all the Mapuches the messages contained in that body, messages that enclose threats, warnings, danger, and auguries. Since the beginnings of Mapuche history, Spanish chronicles, travellers, investigators, and scholars have registered the existence of human sacrifices performed by that people. During the war the Araucanos sustained against the European invaders, the sacrifice of Spanish prisoners constituted the basis with which the ancient practitioners of Mapuche anthropomancy gave precise responses which conditioned the martial actions of the native warriors. It is necessary to emphasize that the death of the conquistador Pedro de Valdivia, who was sacrificed by the **toquis** or Araucanian war chiefs between the end of the year 1553 and beginning of 1554, was one of the milestones that

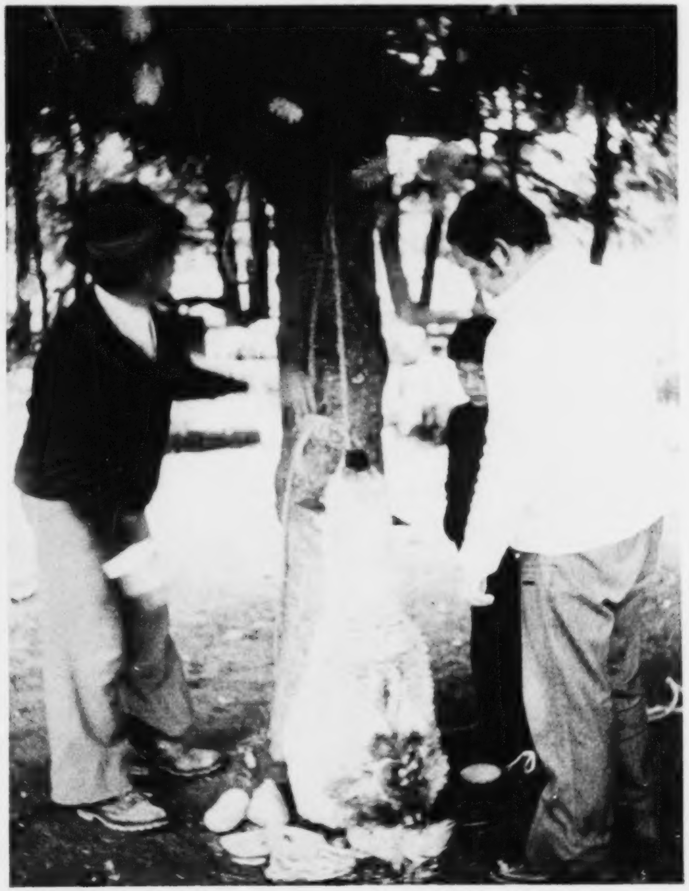

Figure 23. Sacrifice of a lamb (biocosmology). Preparation of the seated lamb apol. Hung from the snout and with the four legs tied, the lamb acquires the adequate seated position for the realization of the apol.
Pircunche, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by the author, 1978).

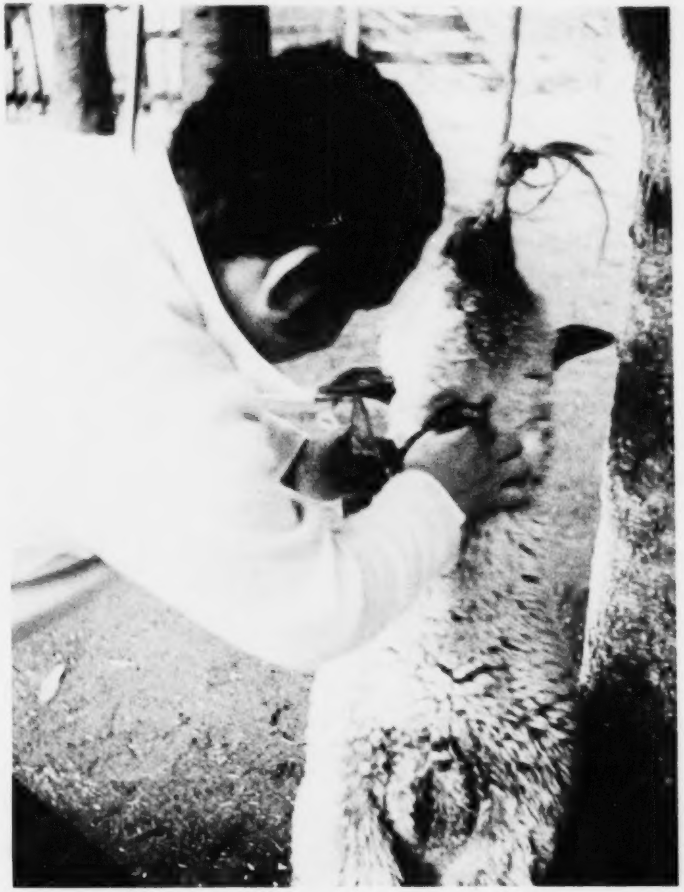

Figure 24. Preparation of the seated lamb apol. As a previous stage to the apol, Elicia Lemunao's husband has cut the trachea of the lamb.
Pircunche, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by the author, 1978).

Figure 25. Preparation of the seated lamb apol. Introduced into the lamb through the previously cut trachea are salt, hot pepper, and seasonings which, impelled by the last inhalations of the animal, slide towards the lungs, filling the bronchi.
Pircunche, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by the author, 1978).

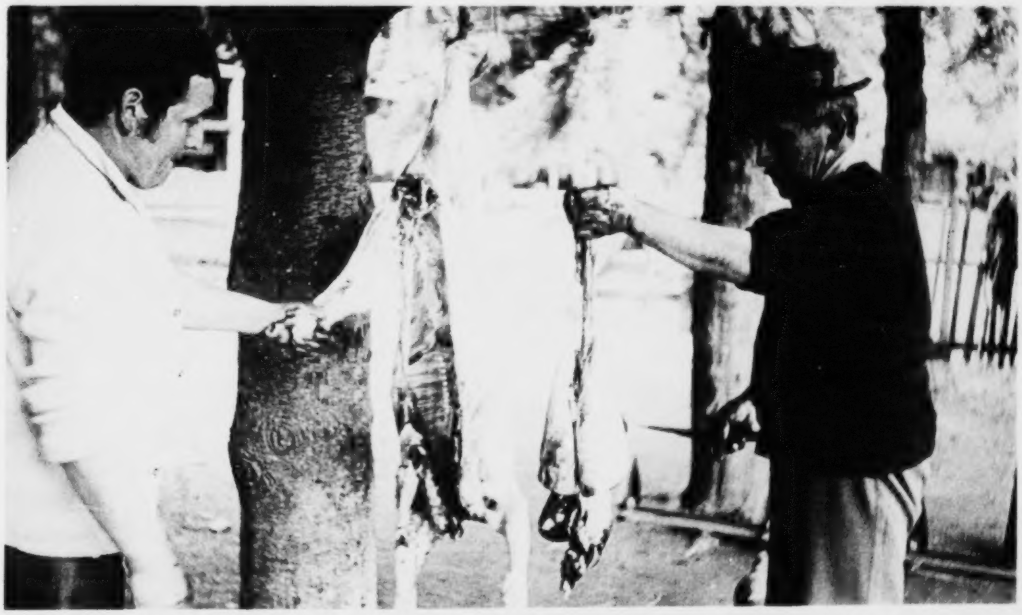

Figure 26. Preparation of the seated lamb apol. Francisco Lemunao holds on his left hand the apol; that is, the lungs filled with the blood of this sacrificed lamb.
Pircunche, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by the author, 1978).

prophesied not only the negative result that the Araucanía - Spain war had on Mapuche society, but also it materialized the usurpation of Mapucheland and the control that in the future the **winkas** would exercise over the Mapuches. I reproduce here the words of lonko (chief) José Luis Huidaleo, who provided me with the traditional version of the death of Pedro de Valdivia, a version that survives in the collective Mapuche memory:

> "They cut off the head of Pedro de Valdivia which they rolled on the ground four times. Each time the head stopped rolling, it stopped and turned, remaining facing the Mapuches ('looking backwards'). This constituted a bad augury: the Araucanian warriors would lose the war and the Spanish would dominate Mapucheland. If the head looked only forward (to the front of the Mapuches), the Araucanians would win".
>
> José Luis Huidaleo (born in 1895).
> Llamuco, province of Cautín, Chile, 1970.

In spite of the negative augury given with the sacrifice of Pedro de Valdivia, the Araucanos continued to fight fiercely against the Spanish, from whom they took prisoners, sacrificing many of them. One of the most accurate descriptions of those human sacrifices is given to us by Pineda y Bascuñán (1973:41) who was a "living witness" to the sacrifice of one of his comrades in arms. Through those sacrifices, the Mapuches continued to search for a more favorable prediction that would allow them to confront with more tranquility and hope for a better future, a future for which even today they continue to fight bravely from their **reducciones**.

At present, anthropomancy is practiced by the Mapuches only in those instances of extreme danger for the survival of that society. Due to the strong earthquake that in May of 1960 affected a great part of the central-south zone of Chile (between Concepción and Aisén), the Mapuches of Collileufu (province of Cautín) realized a great nguillatun in which a child was sacrificed. This sacrifice had two fundamental purposes. First, the Mapuches placated the ire of their divinity; and second, they came to know a more tranquil future existence. In other words, that human sacrifice revitalized and reactualized the interaction God - Mapuche - land; and, at the same time, ensured and gave continuity to "Mapuche life." The sacrifice was the last and desperate response to that great seismic activity that in 1960 seriously threatened the existence of Mapuche society. Hugo Gunckel (1967) reproduces the words of the officiating machi of the sacrifice of a blond child who in the nguillatun of Collileufu (June, 1960) was the supreme offering to the Mapuche divinity. Upon interrogation by Chilean justice, the machi who performed that human sacrifice declared:

> "Tú tienes que saber, que para un gran mal es necesario emplear un remedio muy grande... Animal era poca cosa...¡TEMBLOR MUCHO!..."
>
> "You have to know, that for a great evil it is necessary to apply a very great remedy... An animal was only a small thing... EARTHQUAKE TOO MUCH!...."
>
> Gunckel, 1967:42.

The soul of man is also used by the practitioners of kalkudungun as another of the means through which it is possible to come to know the future. **Sciomancy** or "divination by the size, shape and changing appearance of shadows of the dead" (Constable, 1988:35) is the objectivation of the soul that goes about haunting. The **alwe** and the **am**, two of the four attributes/manifestations of Mapuche soul - possess characteristics more physical-corporeal than ethereal-intangible, which makes possible their visualization. The apparition of the alwe or of the am communicates to those who see it a message that could predict misfortunes, the death of another person, illnesses, plagues, dangers; and in some special situations, good luck and prosperity.

The Mapuches also affirm that the appearance of the soul of a dead person in a vision or a dream reveals the state and/or condition in which that dead person in particular is at that precise moment of his/her "presence" in front of the seer. The practitioners of Mapuche magic interpret the messages that the apparition of the deceased provides, and communicate the auguries that the future offers. In sciomancy, the soul appears as a materialization of the power it possesses in itself. In **Necromancy** or "the practice of using dead bodies for divination" (Constable, 1988:46) is to Hill and Williams (1989:58) "the art that involves conjuring up demons and calling up the dead in order to work magic or divine the future:" the practitioners of kalkudungun manipulate the cadaver and/or the soul of the deceased to come to know the past and the present, and to predict the future. In Mapuche society, the machi and the **copolave** or **cupove**, who is the "Mapuche anatomist and embalmer" (Molina, 1978:136; Ruiz Aldea, 1902:49; Guevara, 1922:58; Victoria, 1965:18), are the experts in charge of performing the autopsy on the body of a recently deceased person whose death occurred in strange circumstances, or the true cause of death is unknown. Alonqueo (1985) provides us with one of the most accurate descriptions of Mapuche autopsy:

> "a).- Initiation of the autopsy. The machi and the copolave open the body of the deceased and extract the gall bladder with the bile, which is emptied into a clay platter. The expert surgeon (cupove), the machi, and the relatives of the deceased examine the bile; then they place the platter on the fire to evaporate the liquid, to obtain the solid residues of the bile.
>
> b).- Analysis of the residues of the bile. Through a meticulous analysis of those residues, the Mapuche experts determine the venom and the food with which it was ingested (hepatoscopy/haruspicy).

> c).- Preservation and protection of the analyzed bile along with a sample of the saliva of the deceased. Those elements are stored within an earthen jar for one year (the corpse is placed within a canoe or wooden box and interred in the cemetery).
>
> d).- Through a secret procedure only the machi knows, at the end of that year, that is, at the first anniversary of the death, the spirit of the deceased speaks and publically accuses the culprit in front of the family members and the lonko. From the bottom of the earthen jar comes a clear and accusing voice revealing the name of the person or the sorcerer (kalku) that gave him/her death (necromancy).
>
> e).- Once the deceased has completed his accusive message, the machi orders the earthen jar be taken to the cemetery to deposit it in the tomb of the deceased."
>
> Alonqueo, 1985:107-8.

According to Guevara (1922:58), "death by poisoning or **vuñapuetun** an enemy executes using food and beverages with concoctions prepared by a sorcerer," is one of the "three powerful and recondite forces" by which men are destroyed. The other two occult destructive forces are: "by **kalkutun** or harm by a sorcerer or kalku" and "by **wekufetun** or invisible action of a wekufe, evil agent of infinite prejudices in life and things" (Guevara, 1922:58).

Those Mapuches who, guided by perverse and dishonest sentiments, emotions, and objectives, cause the death of some member of their own society, are dissociating individuals who transgress the normal rules of socio - cultural conduct with which Mapuche society controls and regulates the cohesion and interaction among its members. With the purpose of drastically ending this anomalous situation produced by those evil entities, traditional Mapuche justice demands the punishment of the culprit(s). If the culprit and the victim are part of the same community, the judgement and punishment of that negative being are quickly effected; if the criminal is a member of another community, the lonko of the affected community, jointly with the relatives of the deceased plus eyewitnesses of the death that placed his social group into mourning, go to expose that grave situation to the chief of the community in which the entity causing that problem lives. After the culprit is identified and proof is presented which confirms such accusation, the lonko of the accused community organizes meetings in which the handing over of the kalku guilty of that death is decided. The plaintiff community imprisons the sorcerer; they judge him, and decide the punishment to apply. In antiquity, the kalku responsible for the death of a Mapuche "was burned to set an example to the rest of the sorcerers" (Alonqueo, 1985:109). Guevara (1922:59) affirms that "the culprit of sorcery received the traditional punishment; that is, he was condemned to capital punishment, applied in low flame." When the chiefs of the community in which the Mapuche accused of witchcraft lived denied his delivery to those claiming justice, "there emerged between the two communities the **malón** or guerrilla" (Alonqueo, 1985:109; Guevara, 1922:58)(9). Alonqueo synthesizes those martial activities in the following manner:

> "If in this guerrilla the accusing community imposed its will, it decimated the witch and those defending her who would suffer the same fate as the witch, with the only difference that the defending Mapuches were not burned. If the accusing faction was defeated, they suffered the same fate and they were judged calumnious but were not burned."
>
> Alonqueo, 1985:109-10.

The machi and the copolave are two of the social guardians who, with their ancient esoteric wisdom, of which necromancy is one of its bases, maintain, revitalize, and channel the normal guidelines of socio - cultural behavior that affect the existence and transcendence of the cohesion among the members of the Mapuche society.

One of the essential missions of the machi is to save, heal, and restore life to a person that on many occasions, and according to the Mapuche system of beliefs, is near death as a result of a curse or sorcery realized against him/her by a kalku. The eternal battle between the kalku and the machi has constituted one of the bases of the dualism good/evil that structures and orients Mapuche cosmology. Titiev sustains that:

> "On the whole, Araucanians do not equate kalku and machi. They recognize that both deal with supernatural forces, and they freely express the opinion that each knows much of the other's lore, but whereas kalkus are shunned and feared, machis are called upon for help. Quite often a machi may be asked to counteract the work of a sorcerer; and machis are even thought to have the power to enter a renü in order to remove whatever substance a witch may be drying out."
>
> Titiev, 1951:113-14.

The activities that the Mapuche priestess and healer realizes to accomplish the previously mentioned mission are synthesized in the ritual of the **machitun** or **datun** (Alonqueo, 1985:68). This author distinguishes three types of machitun:

> "1.- **Ülütun**. It is a simple remedy without kultrun nor singing; the machi uses only the rattle (kaskawilla) and the wada. The healer rubs the body of the patient with medicinal plants.

> 2.- **Datun** or **machitun**. It is a system of healing that the machi uses when the illness is serious. Here, the healer utilizes all her musical instruments (kultrun, kaskawilla, and wadza) and all the medicinal plants adequate for the treatment of that powerful illness.
>
> 3.- **Datun** or **machitun** with **kefafan**. Is realized when an illness is difficult to treat and the life of the patient is in danger. In dreams (oneiromancy), the machi has had revelations that prove the patient is under a spell. To heal the patient, the machi uses all his/her power, prayers, and exorcisms; and cries called **kefafan** which are chanted by the assisting public. She battles, struggles, and calls on the spirit of the patient, a struggle that Augusta (1966:7-8) objectifies in the following expressions of the machi with which she conjures the evil spirit that has taken possession of that person: ***'Fei tami nguillatufiñ: Amomarituaimi. Tĕfachi kuñifal em chumlafeimeu, fent·eni mi kutrankafiel*** = Here I conjure you: you shall irrevocably leave. This poor patient has done nothing to you and you have made him suffer so much.'"
>
> Alonqueo, 1985:68-70.

In the machitun and in the datun with kefafan, the machi falls into a state of nervous over - excitement, a trance known in Mapudungun as "**wenwenkĕlei**, or to be beside oneself" (Alonqueo, 1985:115). In that state, she communicates the origin, type, and degree of illness that a kalku has caused a person in particular. In magic, that trance is called **chresmomancy** or "divination by the utterances of a person in a frenzy" (Constable, 1988:35). The wenwenkëlei is the psychological, spiritual, and esoteric moment in which the machi reaches the supernatural, from where she receives the precise information that allows her to come to know the past, the present, and the future. In other words, the trance of the Mapuche priestess and healer is the powerful nexus that unites her to the metaphysical world in which she finds the solution to many of the problems, that in special circumstances, affect one or all the members of her people.

Once the machitun is finalized and when the machi already knows the characteristics of the illness of her patient, she appeals to the use of plants, with which she applies the medical treatment with which many times she obtains the total recovery of the patient. From ancient times, Mapuche biocosmology has assigned magical properties to a great number of herbs and medicinal plants typical of the flora of Mapucheland. Based on the knowledge of the secret qualities those plants possess, the machi can treat natural and supernatural illnesses (Montecino and Conejeros, 1985). Hill and Williams (1989:146) sustain that "for the magician the herbs he used had powers other and greater than those resulting from their natural properties. To him their power was also symbolic." The same authors distinguish three levels of power contained in plants: "natural remedy, part-natural part-symbolic, and wholly symbolic" (Hill and Williams, 1989:147). Thus Mapuche ethnobotany is one of the most powerful allies the machi has in her never-ending work of healing the sick; and, at the same time, it permits her to counteract the negative effects of the powers of the practitioners of black magic, who also "work hard," trying to cause harm to human beings.

The **pewün** or diviner is one of the practitioners of white magic who is constantly consulted by those who wish to know the future. Alonqueo (1985:115) sustains that the pewün "is a diviner, revealer of dreams, interpreter of signs of divine revelation, fortune-teller; (he/she) is a prophet." With relation to some of the powers that the pewün possesses, powers that are cemented in a traditional-supernatural wisdom, I proceed to reproduce a specific case that Alonqueo (1985) describes to us, based on his own life as a Mapuche:

On one occasion a **pewün** (woman) had a dream in which Ngenechen communicated to her that it was angry with the Mapuches because they no longer remembered it and they did not pray to it. In this revelation (oneiromancy) Ngenechen expressed its anger, which would have fatal consequences for the Mapuches, consequences that could be avoided if they raised prayers and made sacrifices to it. Due to this divine revelation, the pewün suffered in her personality a drastic change: she was possesses by a very intense psycho-spiritual emotion (**wenwenkëlei**). Incited by this frantic state (chresmomancy), the prophet cried, gesticulated, and finally, and faithfully interpreting the mandate of Ngenechen, delivered to the Mapuches the following message:

> "...that men no longer think of god; that men multiply their sins from day to day and that these sins cry out for vengeance, but god is merciful, compassionate and good, and has great pity on them and does not want to punish them yet. By virtue of its kindness, omnipotence and mercy, it has shown itself to me and has asked me to communicate to you this message: 'You must elevate many prayers to Ngenechen to ask for clemency and pardon and if you do not do it soon, great calamities, earthquakes, storms and rain, hail, and illnesses will come to men and animals; many ill-stricken due to the wekufe and the witches, who never rest in trying to possess men and to pervert them, will die!"
>
> Alonqueo, 1985:116.

In the described case, the relation Ngenechen/pewün was established during the trance of the seer, who, upon delivering the divine message, objectified the mandate of Ngenechen of uniting the Mapuche people around itself. In that experience, the pewün was the living and acting nexus that materialized one of the bases of the ethnicity and persistence of Mapuche society; that is, the iron interaction Mapuche/Ngenechen.

Guevara (1922:45) defines the **peumafe** or **peumantufe** as "the man or woman who divines by hallucination or by ecstacy; he/she is a dreamer, the councellor of families, interpreter of luck; indicator of the place where animals or lost or stolen objects can be found." With this purpose, and in specific situations, the peumafe appeals to sympathetic magic, which stipulates that "whatever happens to part of something, or its image, will happen to the whole, or the reality" (Hill and Williams, 1989:46). As a practical explication of the form in which the peumantufe acts, following is an example given by Guevara:

> "An object that is provided to the necromancer serves him as a vehicle to magically operate over its owner. If it is a stolen horse, he asks for a piece of the saddle that has been in contact with the body of the animal and places it under his/her pillow; the next day he announces the area more or less precisely where the horse is."
>
> Guevara, 1922:44-5.

Among the Mapuches, the peumafe is another of the social guardians, who with his magic allows the recovery of stolen articles; and returns peace of mind to the person that has been affected by the theft, at the same time being a living danger for thieves whom the seer can discover and identify. The three functions proper of the peumantufe are also attributes of Mapuche diviners. Among them the **pelon** (Augusta, 1966:179; Guevara, 1922:44) is the common diviner capable of helping, for those who consult him, to discern the past and to glimpse future events.

In a general conclusion of the brief summary of magic I have presented, I list its religious, social, cultural, and political values for the existence and development of Mapuche society. These functions are:

To revitalize and to continue the traditional - supernatural wisdom of the practitioners of kalkudungun.

To control physical nature and its vital energy.

To reinforce cyclically, through precise rituals/activities performed by the practitioners of the magic, the value of biocosmology as one of the nexus that unites the natural with the supernatural world.

To decode and to announce the message that, to the Mapuches, the cosmic / atmospheric phenomena possess.

To maintain the equilibrium of the good/evil duality.

To strengthen the social, religious, spiritual, political, and cultural cohesion among the members of Mapuche society.

To permit and to strengthen social, political, religious, and cultural interactions between the members of Mapuche society and the **winkas** (non - Mapuches).

To provide validity and functionality to Mapuche cultural values, thus ensuring the ethnicity and persistence of that society.

To describe the origin of the illness that in a particular case affects a determined person.

To identify the culprit in the death of a member of Mapuche society.

To objectify Araucanian justice.

To know the past, present, and future of humanity.

As the inevitable end of humans, death is the final proof of any ideology which must provide a clear and precise definition of the value and supreme objective of man's life. With respect to this, Mapuche society has systematized and institutionalized an afterlife as an attainment of natural life developed in the sensible and objective world. To the Mapuches, death is the gate that permits entrance to the hereafter, towards the road leading to immortality of the soul. Thus, all the activities the Mapuches develop before and immediately after a death are structured by a rigid and severe ritual in which the religious, social, political, and cultural values are lived by the participants. In other words, with each Mapuche funeral, all the values that give existence and trascendence to that society are cyclically revitalized, thus ensuring the perpetuity of Mapuche life transcending the natural world. Here, it is useful to reproduce part of a letter that Francisco de Almendras, a Spaniard who was a prisoner of the Mapuche for more than forty years, sent to priest Juan de Albiz in which he relates one of his experiences with the religious beliefs of the Mapuches of that era (17th century):

> "There was in this land a cacique called Luis Quetobileun, who had a son married in the traditional way; being near death, he sent for his father to say good bye to him and to entrust him with the care of his woman and a daughter he had. The old man arrived and asking his son how he was, he responded very ill and he would not sleep that night; upon which the old man started to cry bitterly, saying good bye one to the other with great crying from both and from all the relatives who were there to help the patient die. The old man, seeing his son in such poor condition, spoke to him in this manner: 'It is already the final time of your death, my son; put forth an effort so you may arrive well at the other life, and look, my son, that upon arriving at the other part of the sea, you will sow, after arriving, much broad beans, peas, maize, potatoes, wheat, barley, and legumes. And make a large house so we may all fit in it, because your mother and I are already near death due

> to our advanced age, we will soon be with you in that place, and that is why I tell you to sow plenty so we may enter eating', and with this, crying the ones and the others, they said good bye."
>
> Ovalle, 1969:348.

According to Mapuche cosmology, the place to which the souls of the dead go is located at the other side of the sea (Pacific Ocean). Molina (1978:123) sustains that "all the Araucanos declare that after dying they go to the other side of the sea, towards the west, to a certain place called **gulcheman**." To Augusta (1966:105) that spiritual place has the name of "**kullcheñmaiwe** or western place where the souls of the dead go." Smith (1855:174) states that the land of the spirits was called "**Alhué – Mapu**." Moesbach (1973:413-14) registered the following words with which a cacique saw off the remains of another lonko: "today we surrender our cacique to the land; he is already reunited with the people of the west; he left for the island of the ancestors (**ngullcheñmaiwe**)." With the purpose of facilitating the trip of the deceased towards the island of the **kuifike che** (ancestors) (Augusta, 1966:104), the Mapuches deposited the cadaver in a canoe-coffin known in Mapuche as **trolof** (Augusta, 1966:248; Joseph, 1931:85). Huenun Ñamku describes the trolof as "a tree trunk cut in halves lengthwise. Each half is dug out to look like a boat, and the body (corpse) is placed between the halves. There is still, today, an occasional burial in a trolof" (Hilger, 1966:66). Augusta (1966:235) tells us that in ancient times the Mapuches constructed the **traiquenel**, which was "an upside-down canoe that covers and encloses the trolof" (in some places of Mapucheland, the traiquenel is still used to cover the modern coffin that actually many Mapuches utilize in interments "as do the Chileans").

Besides the trolof, the Mapuches made/make the **wampu** or **wampo**, which is "a coffin made from a tree trunk to which they gave the form of a canoe" (Oyarzún, 1981:10; Augusta, 1966:259; Joseph, 1931:85; Moesbach, 1973:397; Titiev, 1951:104;

Victoria, 1965:15,18). Once the deceased has been placed inside his/her coffin, and during the course of the funeral rite, the attendants to the funeral honor his/her memory. Some men drink alongside the coffin; "they raise their full jars and spill their contents in honor of the deceased on the lid of the canoe; some others sprinkle him/her with their glasses" (Moesbach, 1973:398). The funeral is attended by the relatives of the deceased, called in Mapudungun **cuchallakun**, **lladkün**, or **l·a** (Victoria, 1965:18; Augusta, 1966:127), the lonkos (civil chiefs), machis, and guests of the adjacent communities. In this manner, the deceased centralizes the psychological / spiritual nexus that reinforces social and political interactions among the Mapuche chiefs and among the members of that society, who, united by the loss of one of their members, fraternally share the pain that in that circumstance unites them all (Figure 27).

Having completed all the activities previous to the sepulchre of the cadaver, the deceased is taken to the cemetery in a procession. Molina translated by Wood (1870:565) described the traditional manner in which in the past the deceased was taken to his/her tomb. The funeral cortège was preceded by:

> "Young men on horseback, who dash forwards at full speed to the place of interment. After them, the body, borne by the principal relatives, and behind them come the women who wail aloud and fill the air with their cries of sorrow. Last of all comes a woman who scatters ashes on the ground, so that the deceased may not return by the path along which he was borne."
>
> Molina, 1776 (1978:124), translated by Wood, 1870:565 (see Chapter 5, Note 1) (Figure 28).

In modern times, the canoe-coffin is carried to the cemetery pulled by a team of oxen or transported on an ox cart. Moesbach sustains that:

> "having arrived at the cemetery they take down the canoe with the cadaver to the grave. There they remove the lid of the wampo-coffin and place within earthen jars of various forms with chicha, bottles of liquor, much bread and roasted meat. That which does not fit inside they place on the canoe or at both sides. They say: 'Let the soul have enough to eat on the other side of the sea.'"
>
> Moesbach, 1973:412-13. (Figure 29).

To the list that Moesbach mentions, other investigators and scholars of Mapuche culture add the following traditional foods and beverages which, placed with the cadaver, help the soul of the deceased to arrive successfully at the place of the spirits: **sopaipillas** (fried bread), **tortillas de rescoldo** (bread baked in hot ash), roasted meat (pigs, horses, and cows), **muday** (maize or wheat chicha), fowl (hens, ducks, geese), toasted flour (Augusta, 1934:219; Ovalle, 1969:120,347; Oyarzún, 1981:10; Titiev, 1965:16; Victoria, 1965:16).

With the clear and firm purpose that the soul of the recently deceased successfully arrive at the place of the spirits, the Mapuche system of beliefs controls the sepulchre of a cadaver through severe rules which must be respected and rigorously obeyed. If during the development of the activities of the interment of a deceased there emerges some problem, some omission or misfortune, the destiny of the soul could fatally change. This erred destiny may be due fundamentally to the two following situations. The first is the possibility that some sorcerer will transform that soul into one of the most loyal servants of the forces of evil; that is, into a **witranalwe**. Titiev sustains that:

> "After the deposit of food, drink, and other gifts, the grave is filled in and covered with a heavy log. It was explained that this is done to protect the body from inclement weather, to keep out wild animals, and to prevent witches from snatching the remains for conversion into a witranalwe. At the close of the rites the grave is carefully smoothed, and four days later members of the bereaved family thoroughly inspect the surface for signs of disturbance."
>
> Titiev, 1951:106.

The second situation that endangers the success of the trip of the soul towards the hereafter is tacitly implied in the belief in the existence of a supernatural being whose mission is to translate the soul of the deceased from the beach to the other side of the sea. In Mapuche language, that being of the underworld is known as **tempulcague**, **trempulcalhue** or **zenpilkahue** (Molina, 1978:125; Moesbach, 1978:161-2; Kilapán, 1974:62) to whom the soul must pay for its services. This payment consists in giving the trempulcalhue **chaquiras**, **llankas**, or a certain amount of money, objects the deceased must always carry to the other life. Smith (1855:173) affirms that, besides provisions, the Mapuches place with the cadaver a few beads, or a small sum of money, necessary to pay the **Mapuche "Charon**." Non-payment to "Charon" signifies that the soul will not be able to make the trip towards eternity.

At the end of the brief synthesis of the Mapuche universe I have presented, it is useful to point out that the profound and ancient wisdom which has given existence, essence, and transcendency to Mapuche life is still present and in full force. Born from the vital necessity of knowing himself to later objectify and project himself into nature, the Mapuche man has summarized the eternal questions relating to matter/spirit, good/evil, and life/death in a dualism that is in perennial equilibrium. In Figure 30, Ngenechen appears as the supreme life-creating Mapuche divinity. It also creates the machi, who, as intermediary between the natural and supernatural world, guards, protects, and preserves the life and harmonious cohesion between its people. To the Mapuche priestess/healer, the machitun is the most powerful weapon she uses in her never-ending war against the forces of evil whose supreme entity is the wekufu, who, along with its principal servant or kalku, causes destruction and death. The kalkutun is the magico-propitiatory ritual that enables the sorcerer to obtain complete triumphs in the war against good, a war in which the trophy is man with his body and soul. The **alwe** and the **am** are the two manifestations of Mapuche soul that can be captured by evil, a capture in which the machi strongly interferes, always guided by the power given to her by Ngenechen. **Pëllü** is the state into which the soul is transformed into purity, which can no longer be degraded by evil. Finally, the pëllü reaches its pristine essence upon converting itself into a **kuifiche** or ancestral spirit which, from the hereafter, perpetuates its existence in the living thought of Mapuche society.

As a corollary of that which has already been reviewed, it is necessary to point out that Mapuche ideology has centralized in Ngenechen the immovable base of the cultural identity and persistence of that people. With the clear objective of coming to know and valuing the monotheistic beliefs of the Mapuches, I now initiate the study of Ngenechen: the creator of nature and of man.

Ngenechen: the green deity

The analysis and interpretation of Ngenechen as the Mapuche divinity presupposes the knowledge of the geographical frame in which the Mapuche people develop and objectify themselves.

The nature of the ninth region of the Araucanía (province of Malleco and Cautín, Chile) provides the basic basis for the flowering of a religious / anthropocentric / metaphysical conception inherent in that particular environment. The Mapuche have developed a system of life that represents a "vital communion between the Mapuche

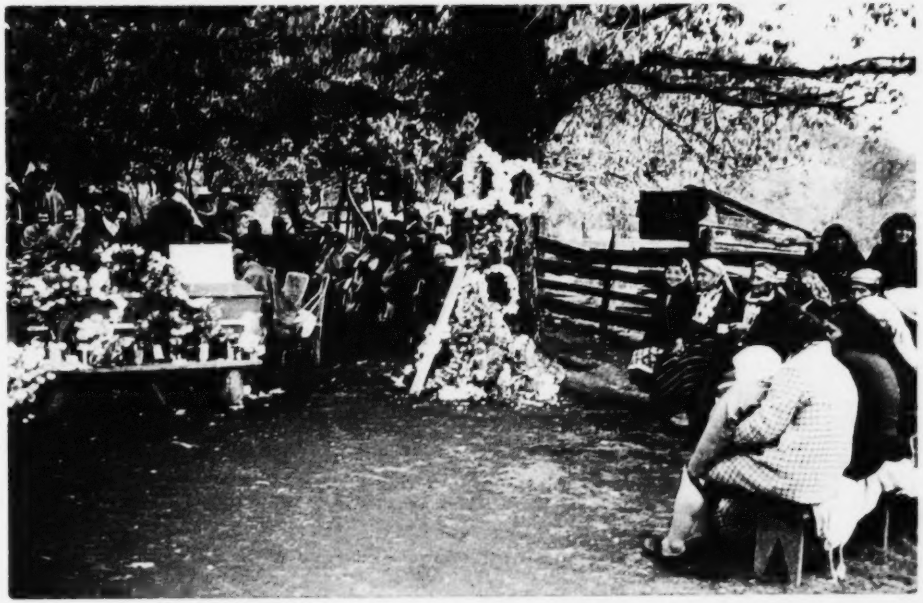

Figure 27. Funerals of Mrs. Isabel Marinao Pilquiman. Santa María Llaima, province of Cautín, Chile, 1982. The religious spirit, the respect for the traditional Mapuche values and a clear demonstration of affection and friendship towards the relatives of the deceased, objectified the tacit nexus that united all the attendants to the funeral depicted by this scene.
(Photograph courtesy of Hilario Lienlaf Marinao, 1992).

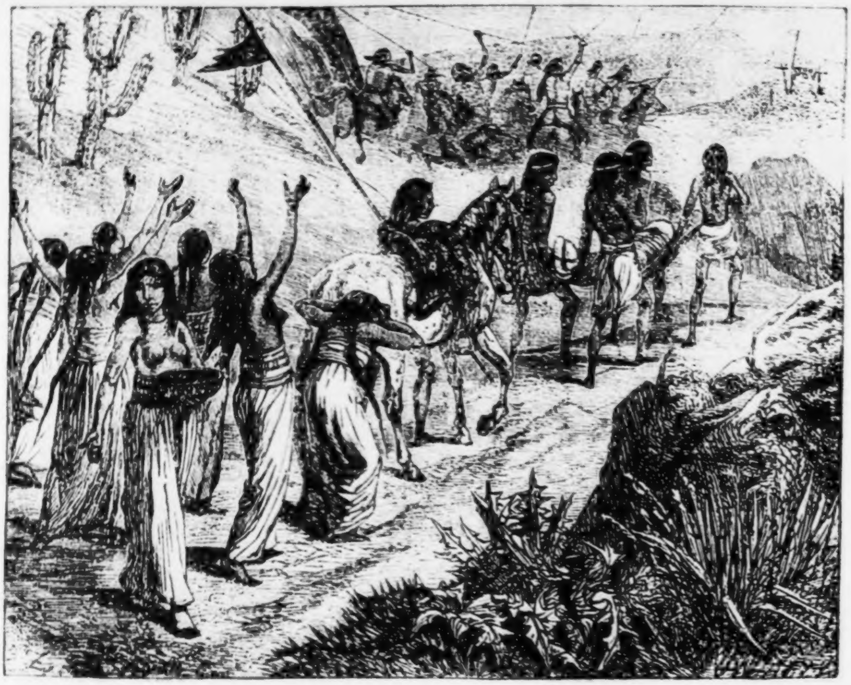

Figure 28. Mapuche funeral. In this illustration, one can observe four Mapuches bringing the corpse to the cemetery, followed by another Mapuche guiding the horse that had belonged to the deceased. Following are the wives of the defunct crying and shouting their pain. Closing the funeral cortège, a woman advances sprinkling ash so that the soul of the deceased does not return to the place where he lived.
(Wood, 1870:566).

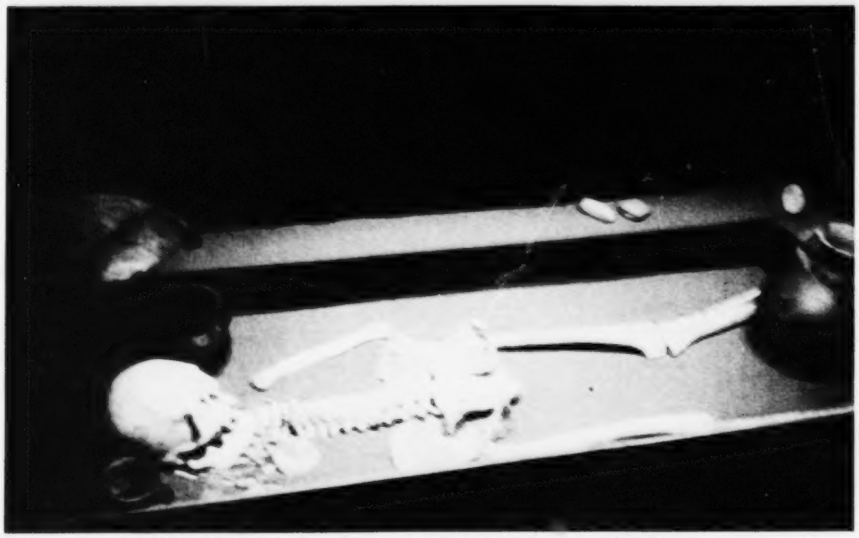

Figure 29. Mapuche burial (the tomb of a woman). Along with the cadaver, clay earthenware, that at the moment of the sepulchre contained food and beverages, can be observed. This scene shows silver jewelry (a pair of earrings or **chawai** and a pin or **tupu**) and necklaces (**traripel**) of **chaquiras** and **llankas**, objects that beautified the funerary apparel of the deceased. Dillman S. Bullock Museum, Angol, province of Malleco, Chile.
(Photograph by the author, 1976).

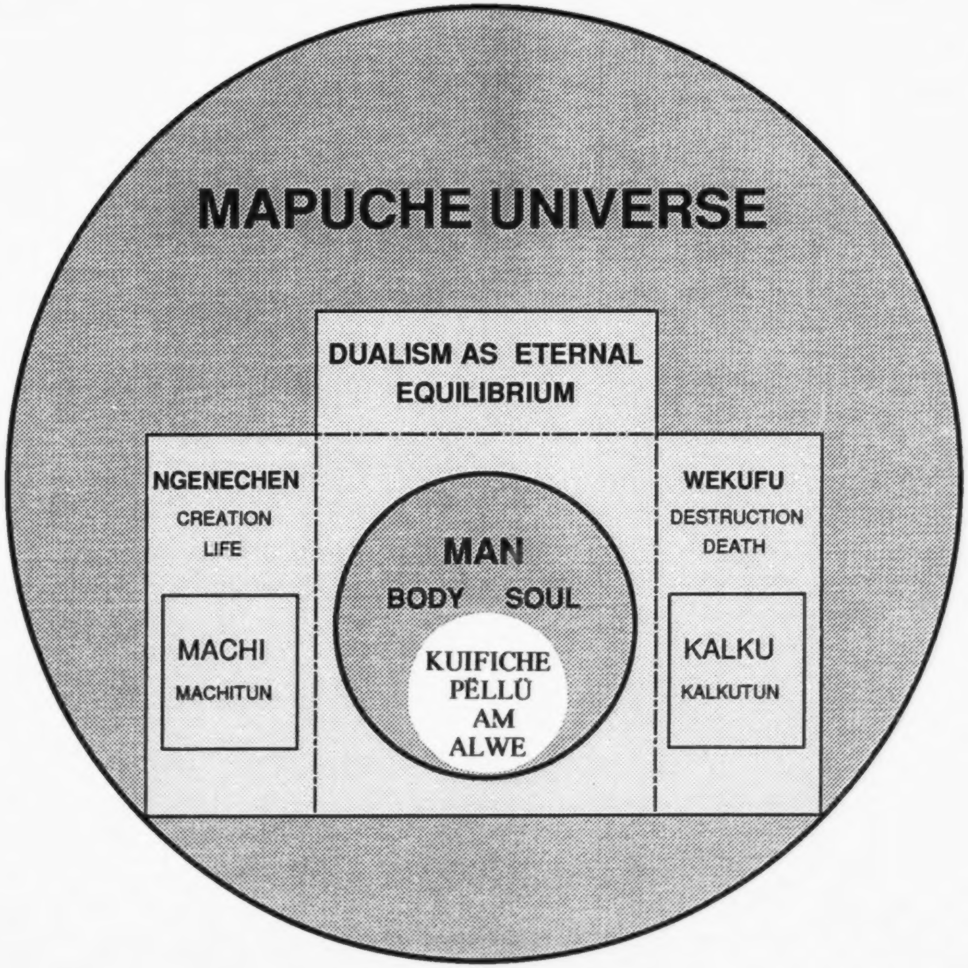
MAPUCHE UNIVERSE
DUALISM AS ETERNAL EQUILIBRIUM
NGENECHEN
CREATION
LIFE
MACHI
MACHITUN
MAN
BODY
SOUL
KUIFICHE PÊLLÜ AM ALWE
WEKUFU
DESTRUCTION
DEATH
KALKU
KALKUTUN

Figure 30. Mapuche Universe.

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and nature in which they are inserted" (Castro Gatica, 1976:25). This communion has been the basis of a very strong and persistent man/environment interaction. Flora, fauna, climate, hydrography, volcanoes; cosmic elements such as the sun, the moon, the constellation of Pleiades, the planet Venus, the Milky Way, the Southern Cross, the rainbow, elements that can be perceived in that part of Chile, constitute one of the perennial strata of Mapuche cosmology. Ngenechen represents the sum of all the Mapuche cultural values, systematized in an anthropocentrical conception of man and the universe. This conception is cemented in a green environment which characterizes the nature of the Araucanía region.

Ngenechen is a word pertaining to **Mapudungun** (the Mapuche language); it is an authentically Mapuche creation. Moesbach (1963) derives Ngenechen from **ngen**=to be, to be with; and **ngen**=the owner, that which predominates. According to Moesbach, Ngenechen is the "dominator of men" (1963:238). Alonqueo (1985:41) affirms that Ngenechen is a polysynthetic word which can be deconstructed as follows: **ngenen** = to dominate, govern, to direct, to guide and be absolute owner of something; **che** = people, man, intelligent being, rational being. To Alonqueo, Ngenechen is the supreme being, the omnipotent entity that dominates, governs, directs, guides the intelligent rational being as much as the irrational beings. Augusta suggests that Ngenechen is the "dominator of men" (1966:62).

In relation to the origin of the name Ngenechen, I present the following opinions:

1.- Casamiquela (1964) affirms that "the primitive Araucanians already possessed it" (1964:188-9); in other words, Ngenechen is a very old concept, property of the Mapuches.

2.- Zapater (1973) sustains that the concept **Nguenmapu**, dominator of the land (one of the attributes of Ngenechen that the Mapuche already expressed in the 19th century), is fused with the idea of celestial **Pillan** to constitute one of the qualifiers of the Mapuche supreme being (1973:68). Zapater (1973:64) affirms that "in the XVII century the Mapuches already had the concept **Pilláñ**," a word that was known by the missionaries of that era. Jesuit Luis de Valdivia, sent to Chile by King Felipe III to initiate a "defensive war" that would permit the Spanish Crown to dominate and to control more easily the indomitable Mapuche people, was one of the first priests who registered that concept. To Valdivia, Pilláñ is located in heaven, from where "it controls lightning and regulates the germination of the sown ground" (cited by Zapater, 1973:64). This conception of Pillan is extended by Ovalle (1969:348), upon designating that being by the name of **Güenupillán** or celestial Pillan who also has "power over the volcanoes." Molina (1978:119-20) sustains that the Mapuches "recognize a supreme entity, author of all things, to whom they ascribe the name of Pillán; this word is derived from **pulli** or **pilli** (the soul). It is also called **Guenu-pillán**, the spirit of the sky." In his "Diccionario Araucano - Español", Augusta (1966:191-192) presents Pilláñ as "a semi-god on whose favors depend the productivity of the fields and of the animals and who makes his anger known through all the igneous phenomena that are related to volcanoes. The Indians of the coast attribute floods and other calamities to Pillan." Moesbach (1978:195-7) sustains that the word pillan possesses a double meaning. First, pillán is derive from "**pëllü**: soul, human spirit having arrived at its definite state (and place), and **am**: soul, human spirit while it is still around its cadaver, grave, or family; **pillán** (**pëllü** - **am**): soul, spirit of the deceased." Second, pillan would be a word derived from "pëllün: to be a spirit or being a spirit; **pëllü** - **am**: to become a spirit or will be spirit (**pëllün** = **pillán**)." According to Moesbach (1978:196-7), the **pillanes** or spirits of the deceased "are corporeal beings even though invisible;

they preserve the human mentality, passions, and needs. The pillanes control climate, the fertility of animals and plants, they handle volcanic eruptions and tremors, thunder, lightning, and hail, storms and floods." The definitions of the word pillan given by the mentioned authors have been synthesized by Zapater (1973), who, establishing an evolutionary scheme, unites the characteristics of Pillan with those of **Nguenmapu**.

With the purpose of reactualizing the meaning of the word Pillan, I will transcribe the definition given by Martín Alonqueo Piutrín, who, after severely criticizing the translations/interpretations of this concept which he believes do not correspond to its true essence, suggests that Pillan is a composite word that can be analyzed as follows:

> "**Pëllü** = soul.
> **Pëllü** = spirit, celestial spirit shadow of the soul.
> **Am** = is the spirit that lives in the body.
> **Am** = is the spirit that is no longer in the body; spirit that leaves the body to transform itself into a celestial soul."
>
> Alonqueo, 1985:41.

Continuing with the analysis of the concept Pillan, Alonqueo affirms that there exist, fundamentally, three words that - derived from Pillan - clarify its meaning even more. These words are:

> "**Pëllíam** = it is a verb that means to convert, transform itself into another spirit.
> **Püllíuam** = it is the infinitive and substantive verbal mode.
> **Pëllíuam** = it is a noun that means the place of conversion or transformation of the spirit of the body into

> whiteness, **beauty**. It is the abode of the soul that abandons the body to elevate itself to the heights and live and be there."
>
> Alonqueo, 1985:41.

As a conclusion of his analysis, Alonqueo declares emphatically that **Pillan**:

> "does not involve a divine concept, but that it is a vital space where the celestial soul and the white and beautiful souls live."
>
> Alonqueo, 1985:41.

3.- According to Noggler (1982), Capuchino father Octaviano de Nizza is the first writer that attests to the Araucanian belief in Ngenechen (1982:41). Augusta suggests that Nizza interpreted the principal attributes of Ngenechen in the following manner:

> "Ngenechen is the great God of the entire world. Ngenechen can be found in the sun. From there he sees all things, governs everything, and gives life or death. The Mapuche maintain a great respect for him."
>
> Augusta, 1934:228 (10).

Until the middle of the 19th century, the knowledge that the Mapuche possessed Ngenechen was not communicated to the **winka** (non-Mapuche), thus constituting an esoteric knowledge which separated them profoundly from the non-Mapuche. With respect to this situation, Noggler affirms that even until after the second half of the 19th century the Catholic missionaries sustained that the Araucanians did not have a religion. In the first part of "La Araucana," published in 1569, Ercilla declared emphatically that the Mapuche were "people with neither God nor law" (1980:21). Zapater (1973:64) suggests that the chronicles of the 16th and 17th centuries did not register words with reference to the supreme Mapuche being. Verniory shares the opinion that "the Araucanians did not have their own religion. They had neither temples nor priests" (1975:74).

In view of the versions which negate the Mapuche all religious expression, authors such as Smith and Wood intuitively perceived that the Araucanians possessed the antinomy good/evil, and the idea of a God. Smith sustained in 1855 that the Mapuche believed:

> "in the existence of a good and bad spirit, the one the origin of all good, the other the cause of all evil. Besides these, the Mapuche have no other gods."
>
> Smith, 1855:273.

The same author informs us that the Mapuche believed in a supreme being:

> "whose attributes he seeks not to discover, but whom his untutored mind has learned to adore as the bountiful giver of all good things."
>
> Smith, 1855:275.

Wood suggests that "among the Mapuche there is a general belief in a good and evil principle" (1870:565). Ruiz Aldea affirms that "the Araucanians recognized the existence of the supreme being" (1902:64). Gómez Fuentealba sustains that the ancient Mapuches "believed in a superior being that governed men, whom they called Ngenechen" (1972:97-8). Dowling is emphatic when he says that "the Mapuches have had and have a religion; believe in the existence of a supreme being" (1973:13).

As a corollary of the above opinions, it becomes necessary to emphasize that the Mapuche had and still have the conception of a deity. The codification of a defined system of beliefs has permitted the Mapuche to overcome extraneous cosmology that, pretending to celestialize them, has unsuccessfully tried to exterminate the sap of the Mapuche cultural values centralized in their vital/axial value: Ngenechen. With the purpose of understanding the essential attributes of Ngenechen, I will analyse the supreme Mapuche being, applying the concept of "anthroposocial deity" that Goode (1951) so accurately proposed. In a second phase of this analysis, I present Ngenechen as the "divine Mapuche tetranity," a tetranity that has constituted the basis of the cosmology and of the ethnicity of this people.

Notes

1. According to Moesbach (1973:109), the ancient Mapuches "hunted the Chilean deer (*Pudua humilis*) with **honda** (**witruwe**) and **boleadoras** (**lĕkai**) in order to consume its meat. They did the same with the **huemul** (*Cariacus chilensis*) and the **guanaco** (*Lama huanachus*)." As well, "the Mapuches domesticated a species of huanaco which they named **Chiliweke** to differentiate it from the sheep imported after the conquest" (Moesbach, 1973:109).

2. According to my own experience, I observed the tragic effects of the **quila**, specially in Cautín province. One of my informants, Elisa Inés Espergel de Flores, who lived in Caburgua (a place located 35 kilometres northeast of the Villarrica volcano, Cautín Province, Chile) from 1961 to 1970, confirmed my observations. She states that the flowering of the quila bears drought, rat plagues, lean wheat and oat production, scarcity, and famine.

3. **Mediería** is a type of agricultural arrangement, share-cropping, imposed by the **reducción** or reservation system. A Mapuche offers his plot of land to be exploited by a Chilean, who at the same time provides the seeds or animals: bovine, swine, or sheep. The produce obtained from this mediería is distributed in two halves among the involved persons.

4. Gunkel (1948:157-8) suggests that the flowering of the quila produces a sequel of tragic situations, such as great drought and huge rat plagues that "inundate and destroy the Araucanian Region." Originating from Mapuche biocosmology, there is in Chile a popular proverb that Gunkel compiled as follows: "when with the flowering of the quila, dramatic calamities shall devastate the country."

5. Until the present, the **culebrón**, along with other animals and birds of the Mapuche mythical fauna, "is seen" on repeated occasions by Mapuches and peasants of southern Chile. Those animals "live" in the memory, in the oral traditions, and in specific rituals of Mapuche society. It is possible that in the near future, cryptozoology or "the science of hidden animals" (Constable, 1988:20) will prove the existence of those living enigmas.

6. Poeppig (1960:363-64) affirms:

> "The Indian and the white man fear the **chonchón** so much that I have frequently observed that they squeeze their files together around the bonfire of the camp whenever it flies near them. It is considered as an emissary of the powers of the subworld, that directs itself to its perverse allies of the human genre, receiving from these the request to spread the invisible venom of epidemics and of death over the hated enemy that would naively surrender to sleep. The native even believes that the chonchón embodies the souls of its ancestors, and allies itself to Chileans to forbid foreigners to hunt that nocturnal bird, for that constitutes wrongdoing or at least a danger. Indeed, it has always been impossible for me to capture a chonchón, that without a doubt constitutes an unknown species."

7. To those interested in more information about the **ngeikurrewen**, I suggest reviewing the works of Alonqueo (1985:51-68), and Moesbach (1973:330-47).

8. Figure 20 is the result of my personal contact with Mapuche society for more than twenty years, a society that has included me as one of its members. Through a

continuous socio-cultural interaction, the Mapuches have permitted me to participate actively in several of their ceremonies and rituals. This situation has enormously facilitated my labour of investigation, study, analysis, comprehension, and revaluation of Mapuche culture; a labor that has been fruitful only thanks to the good disposition and authorization of **lonkos** (chiefs), **ngenpines** (high priests), **machis**, and of the Mapuche people in general. My extensive socio-cultural interaction with the Mapuches was again revitalized in 1989. On this date, along with my wife Eugenia and Haroldo Zamorano, my inseparable partner in field investigations, I visited the family of lonko Francisco Lemunao who lives in Pircunche (province of Cautín). This family preserves and cultivates the ritual of the nguillatun as in ancient times. As always, we were received with the human warmth of sincere friendship which characterizes the Mapuche spirit when a healthy and true interpersonal relationship exists. After savoring the delicious **sopaipillas**, **tortillas de rescoldo**, **chicha de manzana**, and the traditional **mate compartido**, the conversation was centered around relating experiences lived by all the members of that family in the nguillatunes. After an emotional hug of good-bye and a "**hasta pronto**," we directed ourselves towards the house of the daughter of Francisco, Elicia Lemunao, who, with traditional cordiality and sincere friendship, gave the authorization so that one of her sons would lead us to the nguillatuwe of Llamuco. In this ceremonial ground, there exist two chemamull which constitute the altar which marks the perennial axis of the Mapuche system of beliefs in the reducción where Elicia and her family live (the Llamuco nguillatuwe can be observed in Figure 80).

9. For a better understanding of the **malones por brujería**, see Guevara, 1922:Capítulo VIII.

10. Father Octaviano de Nizza lived in Misión de Purulón (a place located 8 kilometres southeast of Lanco, Province of Cautín), from 1873 until his death in 1903. Nizza wrote an Araucanian grammar from which Augusta extracted the referred citation.

CHAPTER 3

NGENECHEN AS AN ANTHROPOSOCIAL DEITY

Since their appearance in Chile, the Mapuches have elaborated precise responses in view of their spiritual, physical, social, cultural, economic, and religious necessities. These responses have been conditioned by the environment in which they have had to live. The geography and the ecosystem of Mapuche land, centralized in the provinces of BíoBío, Malleco, and Cautín, has represented the living base of the psycho-social-historic-cultural development of the Mapuche people. The Mapuche have understood that only through a perfect man/environment harmony is it possible to subsist. In this reciprocal man/environment interaction; in this "humanization of nature through culture" (Goode, 1951:248), the Mapuches have systematized a cosmology that has as an axial point Ngenechen: the green deity.

Ngenechen, as the final product of the Mapuche metaphysical elaboration, is a divinity "essentially human" in its physico-spiritual-moral-psychological aspects as well as in its condition of anthroposocial deity. According to Goode (1951), determined conceptions of divinity are based on a core of values which, being accepted and respected by the members of a specific society, are elevated to a supernatural level, farther than the everyday experiences. This table of values which transcends the human condition is objectified in the world of ideas (Plato), at the metaphysical level of all projections of human values. Goode suggests that the axiomatic aspect which characterizes the supernatural is based on a humanization of divinity and of the pantheon which a society has elaborated through precise cultural values:

> "The supernatural entities, or gods, are not always held to have bodies like men, but their values, attitudes, perception, and thought are 'anthropo-social'. That is, their 'personalities' are like those of members of the society. This is evidenced by these

> facts:
>
> 1.- The deities take notice of man's actions.
>
> 2.- The deities act broadly to further man's welfare, such welfare conforming closely to the society's desires.
>
> 3.- The deities desire human attention, and are pleased by honor paid to them, as well as displeased by neglect.
>
> 4.- The deities usually punish men for not acting in accordance with the rules of the society, such punishment usually occurring in this world.
>
> 5.- The deities are not invariably 'good,' for they may also have 'moods,' and some are whimsical or destructive at times.
>
> 6.- The relationships between deities and men, and among deities, are also conceived in such social terms, in that there will be communications, promises, reminders, approval, and perhaps even threats."
>
> Goode, 1951:54-5.

The description proposed by Goode is completely applicable to Mapuche cosmology. The Mapuches have completed this model upon representing Ngenechen as a bisexed being: as father/mother, old man / old woman, and as a young man / young woman, attributes which I proceed to explain.

Ngenechen as a bisexed being

Noggler (1982:42) affirms that the Mapuche believed, and still believe, in a deity that is simultaneously man and woman (androgynism). Augusta mentions Ngenechen as **Ragnin Wenu Chau** (Celestial Father) and **Ragnin Wenu Ñuke** (Celestial Mother) "denominations with which the Mapuches invoke god in their prayers, from which it can be deduced that they looked upon him as a two-sexed being" (1966:205). Victoria denominates Ngenechen as **Huentru-Guenechen** (Man-God), **Papai-Guenechen** (Mother-Goddess), and **Domo-Guenechen** (Woman-Goddess) (1965:26). The Mapuche psychology presupposes dual sexuality of Ngenechen as an essential attribute of this divinity, a bisexuality which is the basis of a strong and persistent monotheistic belief, which "demands the complete exclusion of all other gods" (Radin, 1954:5). This monotheistic idea has been fundamental in the Mapuche system of beliefs, since it has constituted the crucial point for the refusal of "**winka** gods" completely extraneous to the ethnicity of this people.

Ngenechen as father / mother

As I have noted previously, Ngenechen represents the sum of all the Mapuche cultural values. With respect to this point, it is necessary to emphasize that one of the most important cultural values is the family. As a concept/value, the family is and has been vital in the existence/persistence of Mapuche society. This society has elevated the family value to the category of divine value, centralizing it in Ngenechen who is father/mother at the same time.

Moesbach (1963:29,30) registers the words **Chau Dios** = God Father. The word "Dios" pertains to the Spanish language, and is a word that the Mapuches did not possess (this concept cannot be translated into Mapudungun). "Dios" is a word of the "great society of the west" that since the era of the Spanish conquest has been manipulated by diverse religious currents. The Mapuches assimilated the word **Dios** (**God**) not for the concept per se; but more precisely because it reinforces and emphasizes the idea of a "Great Father," of an omnipotent and noncreated father: the "Chau Dios." Moesbach also describes Ngenechen as **Chau Elchefe** = Father Creator (1978:170-1).

The Mapuches possess the notion of "heaven" in a supersensible/supernatural/spiritual sense. In this heaven or **wenu** (Mapudungun), Ngenechen is situated. Moesbach (1963:29, 30), upon denominating Ngenechen as **Ranginhuenuchau** = Father of the high heaven, and **Ranginhuenuñuque** = Mother of the high heaven, locates this divinity at the zenith of Mapuche heaven. Casamiquela (1964), for his part, gives Ngenechen the name of **Rañin Wenu Chau** = Father of the middle heaven, and **Rañin Wenu Ñuque** = Mother of the middle heaven; for Casamiquela, Ngenechen is the centre of the supernatural/ontological world of Mapuche society (1964:166-7).

The bisexual/dual quality of Ngenechen has been observed by diverse scholars of this divinity. Following I mention some authors who have registered this attribute essential to the Mapuche deity.

Chau = Father (Titiev, 1951:132).
Chao = Father (Alonqueo, 1966:9).
Chau = God Father (Hilger, 1966:67).
Chao Dios = God Father (Alonqueo, 1966:11).
Fucha Chau = Great Father (Hassler, 1957:98).
Papai Ngenechen = Mammy Ngenechen (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:166-7).
Papai Ngenechen = Mammy Goddess (Victoria, 1965:26).
Chachay Ngenechen = Daddy God (Alonqueo, 1966:15).
Chau Ngenechen = God Father; maker of the world, man, and of all things (Castro Gatica, 1976:6).

Along with being father / mother, Ngenechen is also old man / old woman and young man / young woman; in other words, Ngenechen is the eternal ancestor of the Mapuche lineage. Hence, Ngenechen synthesizes the Mapuche family in a divine tetranity: father (old man) - mother (old woman) - son (young man) - daughter (young woman). This tetranity is the axis of the system of beliefs of this people.

Ngenechen as an old man / old woman

Dowling suggests that the Mapuches qualify Ngenechen as an old man by considering the deity "the most ancient being of the universe" (1973:17). To the Mapuches, the conception old man / old woman encloses a double significance. First, it possesses connotations of something eternal, without a beginning or an end. In this sense, Ngenechen is a deity whose origins are outside the notions of space and time: it has always existed. Second, Ngenechen "is an old kind man who listens to all the suppliances and provides all goods" (Dowling, 1973:28). In the second interpretation, "more earthly" (anthroposocial), Mapuche society has projected and personified in Ngenechen wisdom, serenity, peace, and comprehension of a direct ancestor of the lineage of the Mapuche family nucleus: the grandfather/grandmother.

In Mapudungun, there exist precise words to designate the quality of old man / old woman of Ngenechen. This linguistic feature proves once again the authenticity and transcendency of this divinity as a supreme Mapuche value. I present some concepts related to the eternal / old man attribute of the deity of this society.

Deumachefe Fucha = Old Creator of Men (Moesbach, 1973:334).

Deumachefe Kushe = Old Creatress of Men (Moesbach, 1973:334).

Dios Fucha = Old man God (Moesbach, 1973:337).

Dios Kushe = Old woman God (Moesbach, 1973:337).

Fucha Wentro Guenechen = Old man God (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:83).

Cushe Domo Guenechen = Old woman Goddess (Robles Rodríguez, quoted by Casamiquela, 1964:83).

Kushepelli = Old soul (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:166-7).

Ulmen Kushepelli = Noble old soul (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:166-7).

Fucha Wentru = Old man (Casamiquela, 1964:166-7).

Kushe Domo = Old woman (Casamiquela, 1964:166-7).

Fucha Chao = Elderly Father (Alonqueo, 1966:3).

Kuse Ñuke = Elderly Mother (Alonqueo, 1966:3).

Ngenechen as young man (son) / young woman (daughter)

One of the first authors that glimpsed the existence of "a son" of Ngenechen was Father Luis de Valdivia, who registered the concept **mareupuantu** (**mari epu** = twelve; **antu** = the sun). According to Valdivia, **mareupuantu** is "a certain mythological being that, according to a very ancient belief, was had as a son of the sun and author of life of all men" (cited by Augusta, 1966:142) (1). This assertion made by Valdivia is amplified by Augusta, who suggests that:

> "Ngenechen has a son that would be the mareupuantu who gave life to all men. The fact that they consider him son of the sun does not create difficulties; since the Araucanians do not believe that the material sun is God, nor can it be negated that their religious acts are directed towards the (nascent) sun."
>
> Cited by Noggler, 1982:41.

In this assertion, Augusta emphasizes that the Mapuches do not adore the sun as another deity. Mapuche cosmology has incorporated the sun as one of the essential attributes of Ngenechen.

The Mapuche tetranity has essence upon objectifying Ngenechen as son/daughter. With relation to this concept, in a **nguillatun** (collective Mapuche ceremony offered to Ngenechen) of Neuquén (Argentina), Hassler (1957) made an observation that directly relates to the analysis of the Mapuche divinity:

> "The cacique (Mapuche chief) as well as the **cultruquera** (**machi**) act as priests in turn; they direct themselves towards the father, towards the mother, towards the son, and the daughter; they raise their hands with their palms to the east and they shake them four times."
>
> Hassler, 1957:147-8.

Once more, it is useful to have recourse to **Mapudungun** (Mapuche language) which possesses the appropriate terms for the present study of Ngenechen.

Weche Guenechen = young god (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:182).

Weche Wentru Guenechen = young man god (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:183).

Ilcha Domo Guenechen = young woman goddess (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:182).

Ilcha Domo = little young virgin (Alonqueo, 1966:3).

Ngenechen as a bifrontal deity

Ngenechen presents another facet of metamorphic human appearance: it possesses two faces; a bifrontal deity. As a bifrontal deity, Ngenechen has a black face and a white one, colors that to the Mapuches have precise significance. In the first place, the black face represents the negative aspect of this divinity. This black face presages the ire of Ngenechen, anger that would be transformed into a severe punishment imposed upon the Mapuche by Ngenechen because of their disobedience and disloyalty towards their deity. Upon showing its black face, Ngenechen is communicating to the people that they have not loyally complied with their proper norms; such social conduct must be punished in the near future (Goode, 1951). Through the power that Ngenechen possesses to control the sun, the moon, nature, the Mapuche land, this deity can punish the Mapuches with earthquakes, seaquakes, droughts, floods, plagues of insects detrimental to agriculture, scarcity and hunger. This divine punishment could possibly endanger the survival of the Mapuche society if its members continue to reject their proper social norms, and their own cultural values. The black face of Ngenechen is a call of caution and a serious warning to those Mapuches that do not wish to continue "living like Mapuches."

In Mapudungun, there exist the following denominations to determine Ngenechen as a deity of two faces:

Epuange = two faces (Leyton, 1960:105-8).

Epu Agne Fucha Wentru Ngenechen = two faces old man god (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:183; Dowling, 1973:29).

Curi Agne Fucha Huentru Guenechen = black face old man god (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:183).

Curi Agne Hueche Huentru Guenechen = black face young man god (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:183).

Curi Agne Cushe Domo Guenechen = black face old woman goddess (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casmiquela, 1964:183).

Curi Agne Ilcha Domo Guenechen = black face young woman goddess (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:183).

The white face constitutes the good side of Ngenechen, benevolent and protective. The color white, as was black, has ritual/cosmic connotations which, united with Mapuche biocosmology, provide the religious/ontological/metaphysical axis to the Mapuche cosmovision. Black/white is a dichotomy that is always present in the **nguillatun**, a dichotomy that the Mapuches utilize as one of the communication systems with Ngenechen.

Ngenechen, with its white face, is identified by the Mapuches with the following words:

Flan Agne Fucha Wentru = old man of white face (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:166).

Flan Agne Hueche Huentro Guenechen = white face young man god (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:183).

Flan Agne Kushe Domo = old woman of white face (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:166-7).

Flan Agne Ilcha Domo Guenechen = white face young woman goddess (Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:183).

In the pertinent chapter, I will analyze the symbology of black and white in the course of the analysis and interpretation of the ceremony of the nguillatun. It is important to note that, besides black and white, there exist other colors such as blue and red that also constitute axial symbols of that ceremony. Black, white, blue, and red represent the vital tetrachromatic unity in Mapuche cosmology. The Mapuches reproduce these colors in the ritual flags used in the nguillatun, which constitute a specified message to the Mapuche deity. In the nguillatun, black, white, and hues derived from red are also presented to Ngenechen as **chromatic writing**, as well as a specific petition, materialized in the color of animals and birds (biocosmology). The Mapuches present these animals and birds to Ngenechen as an offering and sacrifice with the purpose of honoring and thanking the deity (Goode, 1951).

Ngenechen: Divine Mapuche Tetranity

Ngenechen, Mapuche deity, is a manifestation of the concept of tetranity of this people. This tetranity of the Mapuche deity is concretized in four axial attributes: FATHER-MOTHER-SON-DAUGHTER. This concept of tetranity reflects the number four as the sacred number of the Mapuches. Multiples and submultiples of this number define and structure all of the mythical-ritual-religious activities of this people. The number two, as a submultiple of four, and the number eight, twenty-four, and forty-eight, multiples of four, are the numbers that structure the spiritual / material sphere of the Mapuches (Figure 31).

This interpretation is sanctioned by some scholars of the Mapuche culture. Smith (1855:240) realized an incursion into Mapuche territory which, according to him, was divided into four well defined geographical zones:

1. Lauquen-Mapu = sea country.
2. Lebun-Mapu = country of the plain (Central Valley).
3. Inapire-Mapu = country lying at the foot of the Cordilleras.
4. Pire-Mapu = the valleys of the Andes.

In this classification of the "Mapuche geography," the ritual division of the land based rigidly on the number four can be observed. To this characteristic, it is necessary to add the transcendental importance of the four cardinal points which orient all the Mapuche ceremonies and rituals.

Titiev (1951) is one of the authors that objectified with certainty the importance of the Ngenechen/number four interaction, stating that four is the sacred number of the Araucanians (1951:132). The number four, with its submultiple two and its multiples eight, twenty-four, forty-eight, and others, is present especially in sports, music, and in certain rituals of the Mapuche society.

One of the most traditional Mapuche sports is the **chueka** (**palikantun**). The importance of this sport in the past was vital in Mapuche ideology because it constituted a solution for specific problems such as the administration of justice and the resolution of a social/political problem. The chueka is a sport of men; it is a sport in which physical force is fundamental. It is played by two teams that are rivals in attempting to acquire the necessary points to win. Titiev tells us that "when we arrived (at the place of the chueka game) we found that there were eight players on each team" (1951:128). The number eight is one of the substrata of the chueka game. This sport is realized on rectangular terrain, in the centre of which there is a small orifice in which a small wooden ball is placed. The ball is forced outside of this orifice by two players equipped with a piece of **colihue** (*Chusquea coleu*) curved at one of its extremities (similar to those used in hockey). The wooden ball must trespass the "hurdle" of the opposing team. Felipe Curinao, a Mapuche, affirms that in the chueka game, each team has twenty men, in other words, forty players dispute the wooden ball (Calvo, 1980:42).

One of the basic Mapuche characteristics is their innate musical sense. This Mapuche "musicality" is objectified in certain musical instruments which - and according to their social/religious functions - can be classified into collective or private musical instruments. The most important collective musical instruments are the **trutruka** (aerophone), the **kullkull** (aerophone), the **pifilka** (aerophone), and the **kaskawilla** (percussion). All these instruments are used in collective ceremonies, such as the **nguillatun** (rogation), the **ngeikurewen** (initiation of a **machi** = priestess/Mapuche shaman), and **machitun** (the healing of a person who is sick).

The so-called private musical instruments are used only by the machi. These are the **wadza** (percussion), the **kultrun** (ritual drum), and the **kaskawilla** (also used by the sacred dancers in the nguillatun). Following, I analyze each instrument.

1.- **Wadza**. It is a percussion instrument manufactured from a gourd to which a small piece of wood is added, having at one of its extremities a cross. This is a Greek cross known by the name of cross of the machi. This cross possesses four extensions, one of which is prolonged towards the gourd and penetrates it. This cross of the machi has one of the highest degrees of religiosity in the system of beliefs of the Mapuches. The wadza is used by the machi in activities aimed at curing a sick person.

2.- **Kaskawilla**. It is a percussion instrument manufactured with four metal spheres each having a small pebble which, upon shaking the instrument, produces a musical sound. The kaskawilla is used by the machi especially in ceremonies aimed at curing the sick person (Figure 32).

3.- **Kultrun**. This is the ritual drum of the machi, and represents a synthesis of Mapuche cosmology. It is manufactured from a piece of hollowed wood; and then covered with a piece of a horse, sheep, or goat skin. In its interior are white and black stones that have esoteric connotations. The cover of the kultrun is decorated with colors and designs that are in direct relation to the moment and occasion in which this instrument is used. Faron suggests that "the diagram on the drum (kultrun) is the Mapuche representation of the universe" (1968: cover). According to Verniory, the cavity (of the kultrun):

> "is covered with the horse's hide that is painted with the first blood of a maiden, this forms a cross whose four arms intersected on its extremities by semicircles."
>
> Verniory, 1975:80 (2).

In the ceremony to cure a sick person, the machi decorates the cover of the kultrun with designs dictated by Fileu (a spirit that helps and protects the shaman). The colors and drawings of the kultrun possess secret resonance which even today preserve their traditionality and value. For the collective ceremonies, the machi decorates the cover of her kultrun with different designs to those used for the activities of healing. By way of example, in the ceremony of the nguillatun four or six machis participate with their corresponding kultruns which present drawings and colors precise and adequate to the occasion. If the nguillatun is realized to ask Ngenechen for good weather or abundant harvest, the machis decorate their ritual drums with blue (sky without clouds) and white (clouds with little water).

All the designs and the number of colors used by the machi in the decoration of her kultrun are submultiples or multiples of four (Figure 33). The machi uses the kultrun in her prayers towards Ngenechen, in activities to heal a sick person, and in festivities and collective ceremonies such as the nguillatun.

The **machi-kultrun**-ceremony relationship can be summarized by the position the machi gives to her kultrun when she interprets her songs and prayers. In Figure 34 one can observe the four basic positions of the kultrun. In Figure 34-A, the position of the kultrun is a "normal" position; the machi sings/prays using her kultrun as a "mirror" that reflects her songs and prayers. Drawings B-C-D indicate the use of the kultrun in the nguillatun: B = the machi raises her kultrun towards Ngenechen to receive the blessing of the deity; C = the machi directs her kultrun towards the public to bring them the blessing of Ngenechen; and D = the machi situates her kultrun in a semi-perpendicular position with respect to the land so that it can receive the blessing of Ngenechen as well.

One of the most important Mapuche ceremonies is the initiation of a new machi, ceremony known as **ngeikurewen**. In this initiating ceremony the new machi receives two vital symbols of his/her investiture: his/her private altar called **rewe** and his/her kultrun. Rewe is a word composed of two syllables: **re** = own, exclusive, pure; **we** = place; the rewe is an exclusive and pure place of the machi. The rewe is an iconic-composite sculpture; that is, it possesses two subforms. In the upper part the rewe has the representation of a human head located on a support which constitutes another form: a stairway with a determined number of steps. The machi who has been recently initiated possesses a rewe of four steps, a number that can increase or augment according to the power and prestige reached by him/her. It is necessary to note that each step of the rewe represents one power or sky of the machi (Castro Gatica, 1976:13).

Calvo (1980), in a conversation with a machi, sustains that the ceremony of the **ngeikurewen** is characterized by the presence of a great concurrence, by the music and dances realized by officiating machis. Of particular importance is the dance performed in honor of the new machi by four young men carrying rattles (**kaskawilla**) in their hands. In the mentioned interview, the machi communicated to Calvo that the ceremony in which he was initiated lasted four days and that he did not eat for four days (1980:148).

The most important Mapuche collective ceremony and the one that has preserved in the best possible way the identity of this society is the nguillatun. The nguillatun is a magical/ritual/propitiatory ceremony that is realized every two, four, six, or eight years during two, four, six, or eight days in a circular or rectangular place called **nguillatuwe**. In front of the altar, which can be a cross, two crosses, one or two **chemamull** (**che** = people, person; **mamull** = wood: person made of wood), or a "sacred" tree (**canelo**, *Drimys winteri*; laurel, *Pavonia sempervirens* or *Laurelia aromatica*; **roble**, *Nothofagus obliqua*), birds and animals which constitute sacred offerings are placed. This ritual is performed as an action of thanks for good harvests obtained, or as a petition to calm the ire of Ngenechen manifested in droughts, storms, or cataclysms (Castro Gatica, 1976:15-6) (Figures 35 and 36). Moesbach (1973:371-394) summarizes the preparation, development, and culmination of the nguillatun.

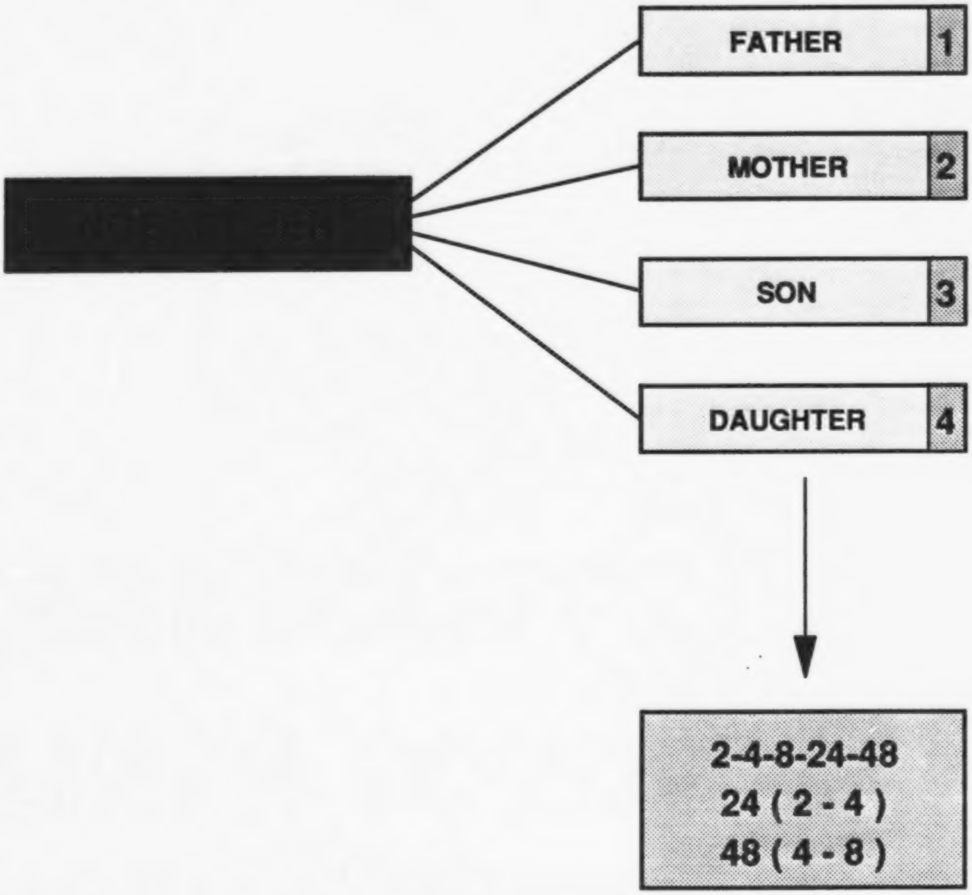

FATHER 1
MOTHER 2
SON 3
DAUGHTER 4
2-4-8-24-48
24 (2 - 4)
48 (4 - 8)

Figure **31** NGENECHEN AS THE DIVINE MAPUCHE TETRANITY AND ITS RELATION TO THE MAPUCHE RITUAL NUMBERS.

OMAR CASTRO GATICA - [illegible]

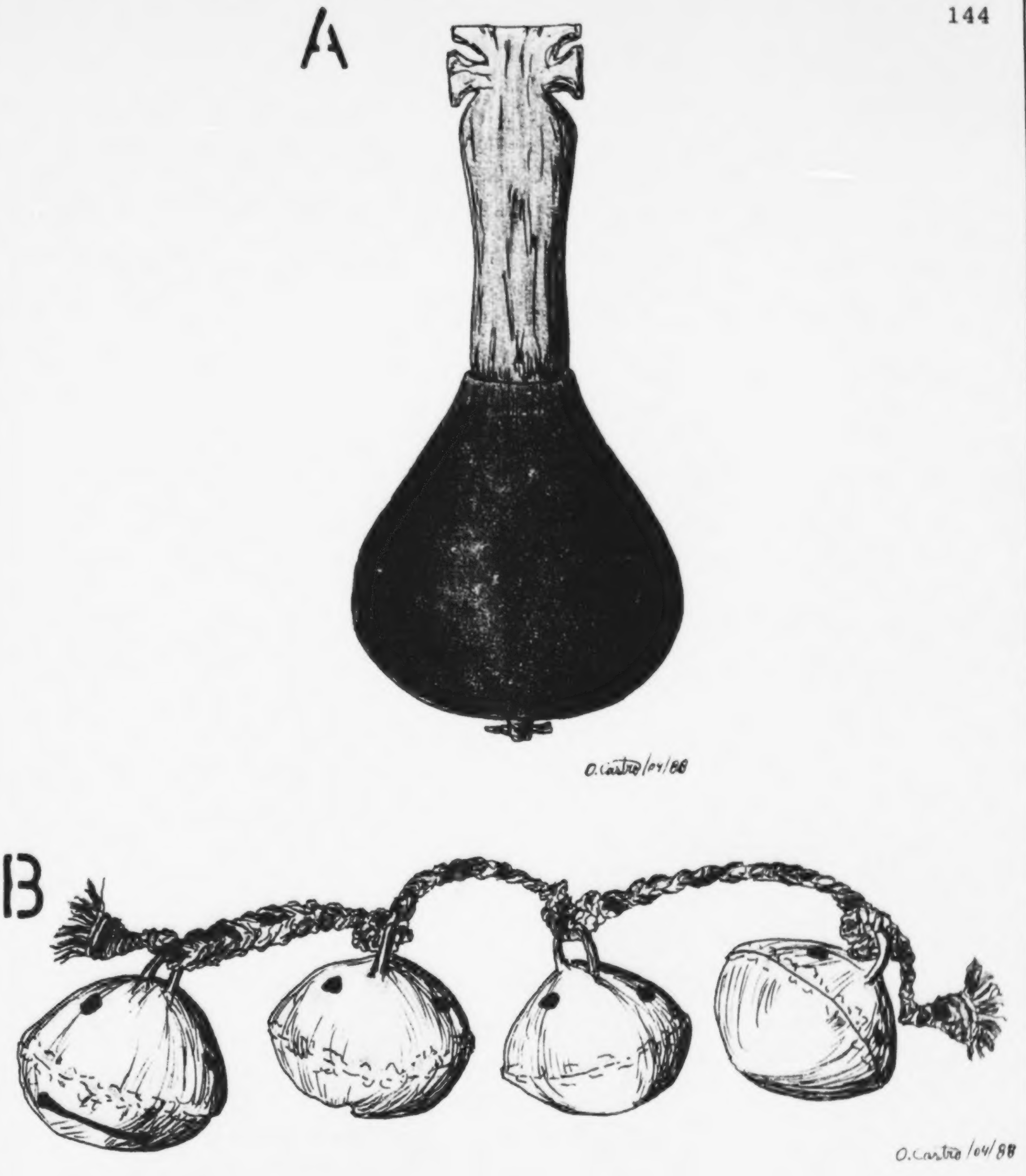
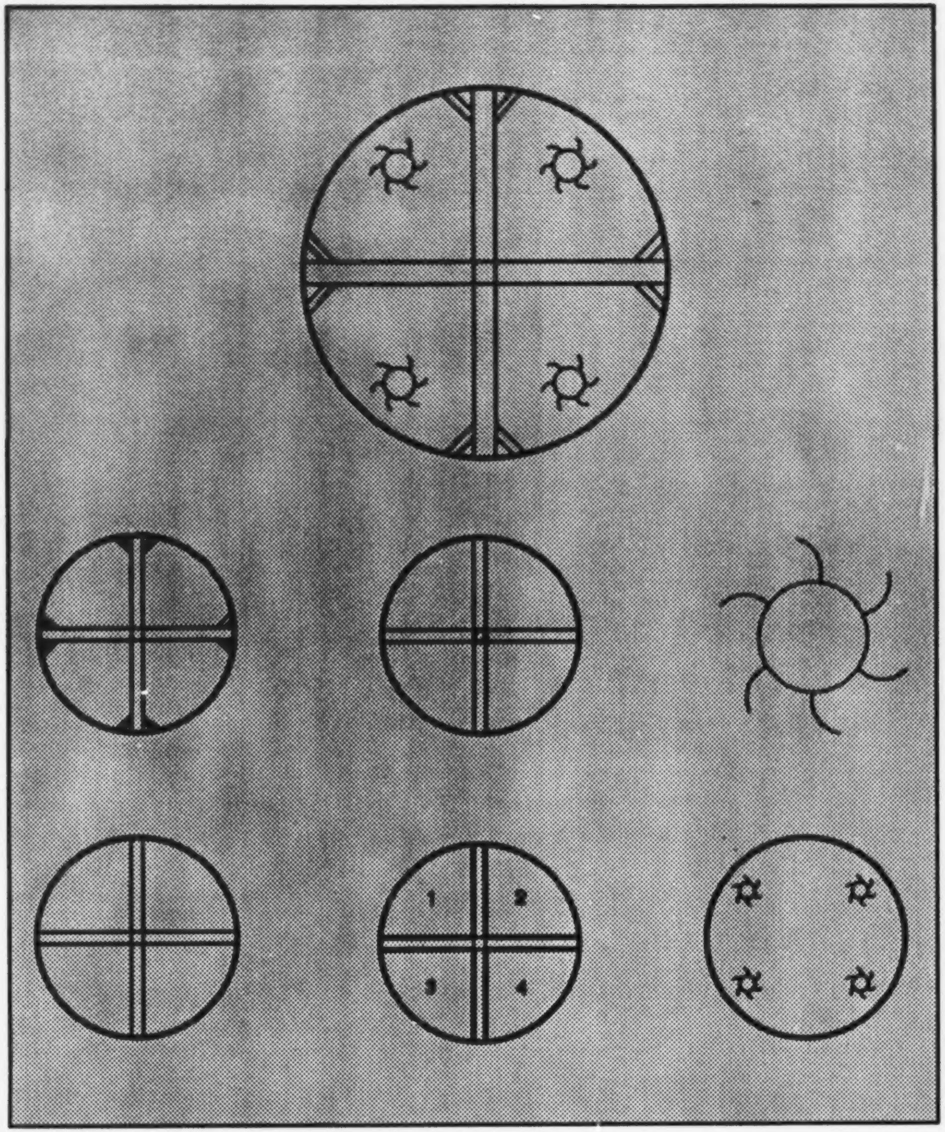
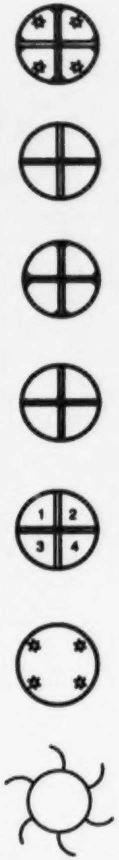


Figure 32. Musical instruments of the **machi**.
A = Wadza. Percussion instrument manufactured with a gourd. The superior extremity of the handle presents a greek cross known by the name of machi cross.
B = Kaskawilla. This percussion instrument - structured by four metallic spheres which possess a pebble in their interior - clearly objectifies the concept of Mapuche tetranity. Upon shaking this object, each one of the four spheres produces a musical note.
(Drawing by the author, 1988).

Figure 33 CLASSICAL DISTRIBUTION OF KULTRUN DESIGNS



ELEMENTS:



A KULTRUN'S COVER

CENTRAL PARALLEL LINES (8)
2 VERTICAL AND 2 HORIZONTAL

LATERAL LINES (16)

APK - AXIAL POINT OF
THE KULTRUN

THE FOUR CENTRAL DIVISIONS
OF THE KULTRUN

CENTRAL CIRCLES (4)

CURVED LINES DECORATING
THE CIRCLES (24).

OMAR CASTRO GATICA - 1988

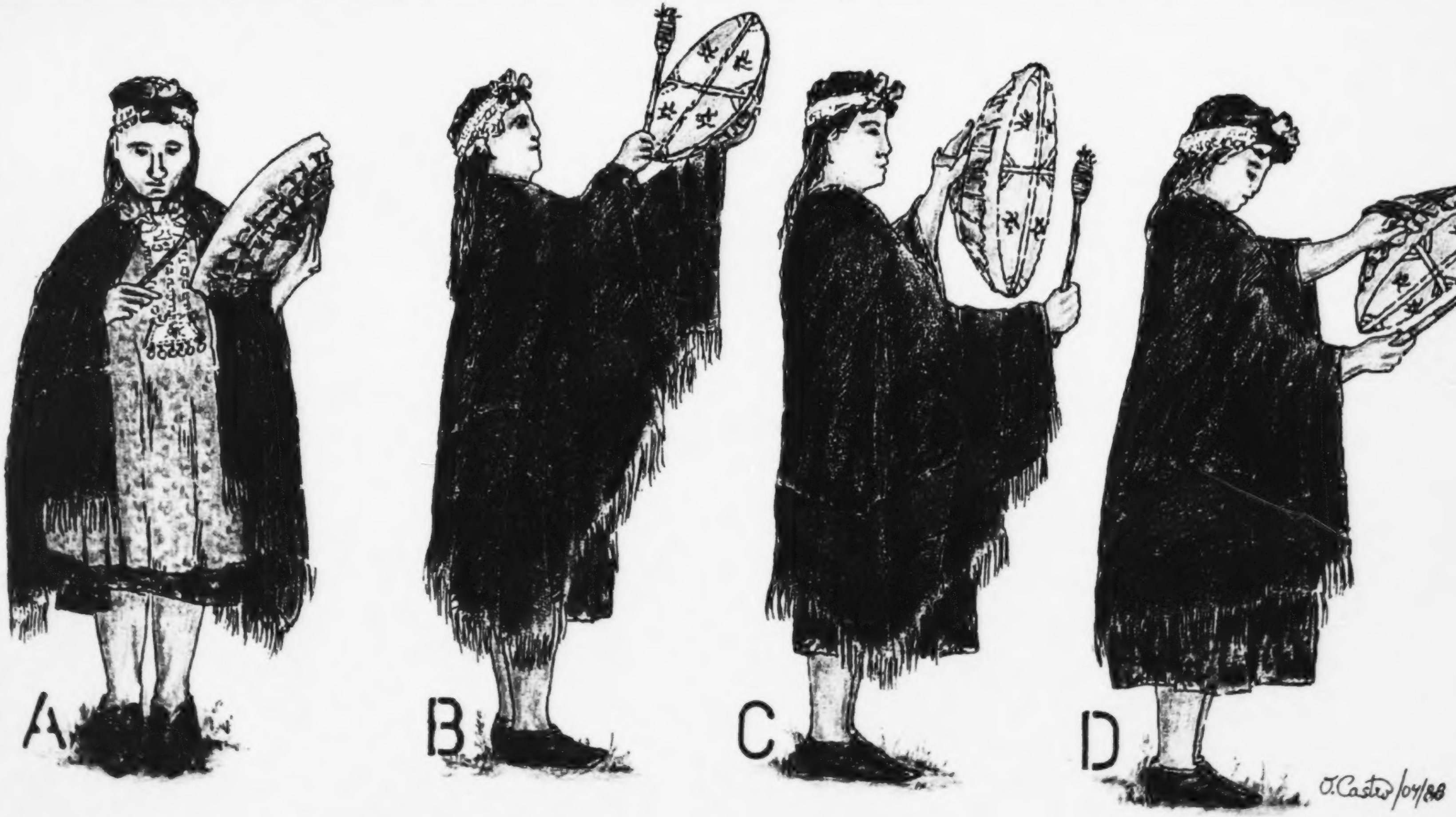


Figure 34. The four basic positions of the **kultrun**.
A = "Normal" position. The kultrun is used as a "mirror" which reflects the songs / prayers of the machi.
B–C–D = Positions used in the nguillatun. In this ceremony, the kultrun is the ritual object that the machi utilizes to receive and impart the blessing of Ngenechen (to the attendants and to the sacred Mapuche land).
(Drawing by the author, 1988).

First day. The **ngenpin** (priest of the nguillatun) sends a messenger to communicate the realization of the nguillatun to the members of the Mapuche community which organizes the ceremony, as well as to the adjacent Mapuche **reducciones**.

Second day. The **ngenpin** and the principal **cacique** of the reducción which organizes the nguillatun meet to agree upon the time that will be destined for the preparation of the **chicha** (traditional Mapuche beverage). The **cacique** asks: How many days will we fix?; the ngenpin responds: four.

Meeting previous to the nguillatun. When the **chicha** is prepared, the ngenpin and the principal **cacique** meet with a certain number of Mapuches from the reducción which organizes the ceremony. The ngenpin and the cacique ask: How many days will you establish to realize the nguillatun?; the concurrence responds: four.

Two days previous to the nguillatun. The principal cacique kills two bovines and four sheep. Upon finishing the kill of an animal, the cacique prays to Ngenechen, imploring help and craving for the nguillatun to be successfully performed. Four times he repeats his prayer.

Titiev describes some scenes of two nguillatun which he attended in 1948. This author tells us that the machi sings/prays to Ngenechen, playing her kultrun: "the chant was repeated four times" (1951:132). Titiev affirms that:

> "On Friday and Saturday, April 23 and 24, the people of Malalche were hosts at a nguillatun. The rhythm of the music was at all times six-eight and fairly quick; and two trutrukas were occasionally sounded by players" (1951:136-8).

According to a cacique named Llancafilo - interviewed by Calvo - in the nguillatun there are two "captains" and two "sergeants" in charge of maintaining order in the ceremony. Llancafilo describes in the following manner some of the scenes of a nguillatun:

> "At the sides of the machi two young 'saint girls' are seated adorned with silver jewellery."
>
> Calvo, 1980:99.

> "At a certain moment, a Mapuche musician playing a trumpet gives a special sound which constitutes a specific order to the riders who, at full speed of their horses, go in the direction of the volcano (east), a run that abruptly stops to return to the altar. Four times they repeat this run."
>
> Calvo, 1980:99.

The Argentinian Mapuches who preferably live in the province of Neuquén also perform nguillatun. One of the scholars of that ethnic group is Hassler (1957) who describes some nguillatun of the Argentinian Mapuches. Following I summarize some important aspects of a nguillatun in the locality of **Quila Quina** which are related to the divine Mapuche tetranity.

Altar. The four central **colihues** (*Chusquea coleu*) had Argentinian flags.

Dances. They dance in couples: two men, two women.

In the nguillatun. The cacique with "four saint children" and four men carrying colihues, turn four times around the altar; they realize four turns praying for those alive, and four turns praying for those dead (Hassler, 1957:78-100).

Awun.- Is the horse run, turning around the altar. Hassler affirms that in the Malleo nguillatun (place located to the north of Junín de los Andes) there were "eighty four horses parading all in correct formation four deep. They executed four turns around the altar" (Hassler, 1957:100).

The number four is also present in the Mapuche funeral. In the funeral of cacique Ambrosio Coliñanco, Calvo registered the following scenes that graph, once more, the value that Ngenechen possesses as the divine Mapuche tetranity:

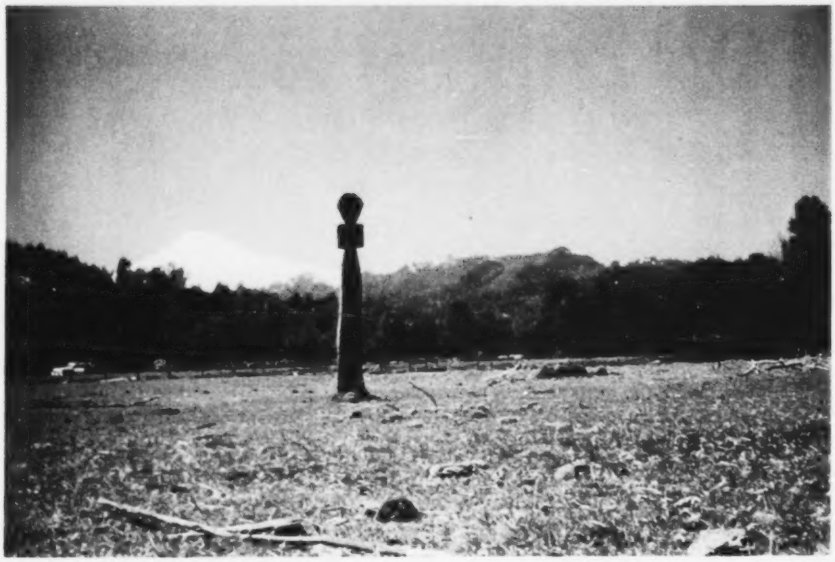


Figure 35. The Mapuche cross as altar of the **nguillatuwe**. A cross in Coñaripe (province of Valdivia, Chile). In the background, the Villarrica volcano (2,840 meters).
(Photograph by the author, 1976).

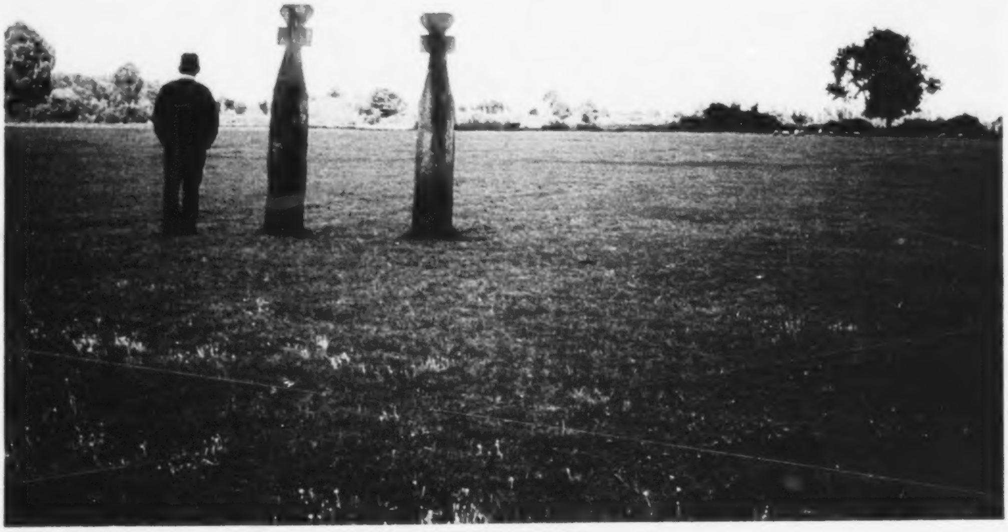


Figure 36. **Lonko** (Mapuche chief) Francisco Lemunao beside two crosses. Pircunche, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by the author, 1976).

> "The moment of the funeral arrived. It was four o'clock P.M. The cortège began to move. Four men carried the coffin.
> After a short walk, the retinue made its first stop.
> All the attendants surrounded the dead and the riders on horseback circled him giving four turns.
> In the cemetery, as soon as the mortuary discourses ended, the coffin was placed in the grave. Then, one by one the assistants approached it and threw four fistfuls of earth."
>
> Calvo, 1980:137-41.

Upon finalizing the analysis of Ngenechen as the divine Mapuche tetranity, it is possible to perceive the presence of the Father-Mother-Son-Daughter objectified in the axial number four, which constitutes the base of Mapuche cosmology. The chueka game, the traditional musical instruments, the private altar of the machi (rewe), and ceremonies (**ngeikurewen**, nguillatun, funeral) synthesize Ngenechen as a tetranity that creates, organizes, directs, and controls the belief system of Mapuche society.

Ngenechen: a Creator Deity

In the Mapuche genesis, Ngenechen occupies the center of creative power. The Mapuches have structured the power of their deity, giving it all the attributes of an omnipotent/omniscient being, capable of creating, administrating, and handling nature and living beings. These attributes empower Ngenechen to be the master/owner of all that exists. Thus, Ngenechen constitutes itself as the great dominator and organizer of the supernatural forces that control the existence of animate and inanimate beings.
The creation of man, animals, plants; the creation of water, of the sea, of the mountains, of the land, and of the world presupposes a power and knowledge the Mapuche people have known how to materialize in their deity. All the creation of Ngenechen can be summarized in providing the vital basis for the existence /

presence / transcendency of the Mapuches in an ideal geographical framework which permits this society to develop as such. In this form, the possibilities of "Mapuche life" depend directly on the deity that this human group has institutionalized.

The development of agriculture and the domestication of animals restructured and reoriented the belief system of the Mapuches. Agricultural labour being the basis of their subsistence, the Mapuches understood that the man/environment relation was a fine weft that necessitated the aid of "something superior." This something superior was objectified in Ngenechen, who, even though respected and venerated from ancient times, became the center of the religion of these people. Mapuche religion has in Ngenechen the support, the equilibrium, balance, and stability necessary in the Mapuche/ecosystem relationship. As creator, the Mapuche deity "comprehends" that its people need its creative work not end; that the vital cycle repeat itself indefinitely. To this purpose, the Mapuches have systematized the nguillatun or fertility ritual through which they ask Ngenechen for creation to continue. Faron affirms that:

> "During agricultural fertility rites the Mapuche pray for good fortune with respect to next year's harvests, animals, and human well-being."
>
> Faron, 1968:18.

There exist in Mapudungun the adequate words that determine Ngenechen as a divine creator/owner/dominator/handler of the Mapuche world. Following I will provide some of these words to demonstrate, once more, how rich and profound the Mapuche language is in expressing a specific attribute/power of Ngenechen:

1.- Creator.

Eluma = creator (Moesbach, 1963:29-30).

Dios Elchefe = deity/creator (Moesbach, 1973:362).

Ngenechen = deity/creator (Moesbach, 1978:170-1).

2.- Father/creator.

Chau Elchefe = deity/creator (Moesbach, 1978:170-1).

3.- Creator and owner of all that exists.

Nunemapun = the creator of all things (Hilger, 1966:68).

Ngenechen = deity/creator and owner of all that exists (Alonqueo, 1966:14).

Ngenfillemm = author or owner of everything (Alonqueo, 1985:42).

4.- Dominator of the land.

Ngenmapu or **Ngenenmapu** = author or owner of the land (Alonqueo, 1985:42).

Ngenemapun = dominator of the land (Moesbach, 1963:239. Casamiquela, 1964:166-7).

Mapungenechen = Lord who commands and administers the land (Calvo, 1980:65).

Nguenmapu = owner of the land; cognomen of the supreme being (Zapater, 1973:140).

Gneñepmapu = owner of the land (Leyton, 1960:105-8).

Gnechen = dios. Handler of the land (Tripailaf, 1948:16).

5.- Author or owner of the mountain.

Ngenmawida = author or owner of the mountain (Alonqueo, 1985:42).

6.- Author or owner of water.

Ngenko = author or owner of water (Alonqueo, 1985:42).

7.- Dominator of the sea.

Nguenlavquen = dominator of the sea (Poeppig, 1960:404).

8.- Lord of thunder.

Nguentalca = Lord of thunder (Poeppig, 1960:404).

9.- The one who handles maize.

Nguenhua = the one who handles maize (Augusta, cited by Noggler, 1982:41).

10.- The one who handles wheat.

Nguencachilla = the one who handles wheat (Augusta, cited by Noggler, 1982:41).

11.- Author or owner of animals.

Ngenkulliñ = author or owner of animals (Alonqueo, 1985:42).

12.- Handler of insects damaging to agriculture.

Gnechen = handler of insects damaging to agriculture (Tripailaf, 1948:16).

13.- Creator of man.

Elchekelu = creator of men (Augusta, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:167).

Ngenechen = the creator of man (Noggler, 1982:40).

Gnechen = is the creator; he who begeted or created people (Kilapan, 1974:97).

14.- Old man creator/old woman creator of men.

Deumachefe Fucha = old man moulder of men (Moesbach, 1973:334).

Deumachefe Kushe = old woman moulder of men (Moesbach, 1973:334).

Elchefe Fucha = old man creator of men (Moesbach, 1973:334).

Elchefe Kushe = old woman creator of men (Moesbach, 1973:334).

15.- Dominator of men.

Ngenechen = dominator of men (Moesbach, 1963:238. Augusta, 1966:62).

Nguenechen = owner and dominator of people; denomination of the supreme being (Zapater, 1973:140).

Ngenechen = dominator of people or he who dominates people (Casamiquela, 1964:51-2).

Gnechen = handler of man (Tripailaf, 1948:16).

16.- Handler of diseases.

Nguencutran = he who handles diseases (Augusta, cited by Noggler, 1982:41).

17.- Ruler of the world.

Gnunechen = ruler of the world (Hilger, 1966:67-8).

Ngenechen and the Cosmos

Mapuche society has preserved, especially in Mapudungun, an astronomical knowledge which goes further than that which is commonly thought (Molina, 1978:129). According to this author, the Mapuche were, and still are, capable of "distinguishing the planets, to which they ascribe the name of **gau**" (Molina, 1978:129). Molina also suggests that the Mapuches denominated **layantu**, the eclipse of the sun (death of the sun), and **laycujen**, the lunar eclipse (death of the moon) (1978:129). Continuing with Molina, it is necessary to add the concept **thorën**, that for the Mapuches constitutes "the late birth of the stars" (Molina, 1978:129). As a summary, it is necessary to remember that astronomical knowledge presupposes a high degree of observation and a methodical register of that which was observed, conditions that the Mapuches knew how to express in precise words.

Before continuing any further, it is useful to return and complete the Mapuche concept **wenu** previously analyzed.

Besides its spiritual/metaphysical character, the Mapuches give wenu the idea of cosmos. The polysynthetic characteristic of Mapudungun permits the accumulation of morphemes which clarify and determine the semantic aspect of a word. In this manner, the word wenu undergoes variations upon adding another morpheme to ascertain precisely the correct meaning the Mapuches wish to give in particular circumstances. Thus, it is possible to obtain the following terms:

wenu = above, on high, the sky, weather, climate (Augusta, 1966:267).
wenuruka = the ceiling (Augusta, 1966:267).
wenumapu = the sky, the celestial region (Augusta, 1966:267).
rəgninwenu = zenith, from the middle of the sky (Augusta, 1966:205).
wenuantu = sun of the sky (Moesbach, 1978:112).

The preceding has importance in understanding the names that the Mapuches give to Ngenechen in relation to the cosmos. Moesbach, upon relating the Mapuche deity with wenu, utilizes the words **kallfuwenu** = blue sky (1973:377) and **wenumapu dios** = God of the sky, God of the heights (1973:331). The same author, based on the words **wenu leufu** = celestial river (which in Mapudungun designates the Milky Way) to refer to the Mapuche divinity, calls Ngenechen **Wuincoleufu** = full river and **Trañmaleufu** = flattener of the river (1978:170-1). With this, it is demonstrated that for the Mapuches Ngenechen is not only a "terrestrial/anthroposocial" response to physical, spiritual, and cultural necessities of this society. Ngenechen is a response of the highest cognitive/ontological level that unites the terrestrial/spiritual with the cosmic/metaphysical of Mapuche thought.

The preceding assertion has even more force when the Mapuches call their deity **rey** (Spanish: king). It is necessary to clarify that this word cannot be translated into

Mapudungun, since the Mapuches never had such a concept of king before the Spanish conquest. In 1569, year of the publication of the first part of "La Araucana," Ercilla emphasized that the **Araucanos** are "people who obey no king" (1980:19). Noggler suggests that:

> "The word **rey** (king) is taken from the Spanish and has only served (the Mapuches) to replace the Mapuche term **Apo** or **Ulmen**; these Araucanian terms were not sufficient to express the power and authority of the king of Spain."
>
> Noggler, 1982:41.

As a consequence, **rey** is a word that, similarly to the concept of **dios** (God), the Mapuches have incorporated into their language, taking it exactly with all its semantic value. Thus the Mapuches call Ngenechen **Rey Fucha** = old king, and **Rey Kushe** = old queen (Augusta, 1966:209). But the relation to the cosmos becomes present once more in Mapudungun when the Mapuches denominate their divinity **Wenu Rey Fucha** = sky old king; **Wenu Rey Kushe** = sky old queen; **Kallfu Rey Chau** = blue king father; **Kallfu Rey Ñuke** = blue queen mother (Augusta, 1966:209). In this manner, the circle Ngenechen/cosmos/king is complete.

Through the analysis of the Mapuche divinity in its four essential attributes/powers: Ngenechen as an anthroposocial deity, as a creator, as a being "connected" with the cosmos, and as a "king," the variety of terms with which the Mapuches identify their deity can be appreciated. The variety is possible thanks to the agglutinating polysynthetic characteristic the Mapuche language possesses, a language that reflects the creativity, depth, and complexity of the traditional thought of this society.

The preceding reflection has special importance in the comprehension of Mapuche monotheism - that is, belief in a supreme deity. This monotheism has been vital in the ethnicity and persistence of this human group. With respect to this point, one of the authors who emphasizes the Mapuche belief in only one deity is Moesbach, who, correctly interpreting the basis of the religion of this people, arrived at the following conclusion:

> "The indigenous people (Mapuches) give the supreme being (Ngenechen) diverse names, but are and always were strict monotheists."
>
> Moesbach, 1973:361.

Ngenechen and the Volcano

Another attribute of Ngenechen is its relation with the terrestrial igneous forces. In the land of the Mapuches, the volcano, with its double quality cold/heat, represents one of the "terrestrial powers" of the deity of this society.

In the Araucanía region, the Cordillera de los Andes has a double value: as an axial point of the East, which in Mapuche cosmology is the place of life, and as the geographical landmark that indicates the position of one of the Mapuche mythical/ritual/esoteric centers: the volcanoes. With respect to this concept, Bernardino Vidal Meliqueo, one of my informants who in the year 1978 lived in the Mapuche **reducción** of Prado Huichahue, Province of Cautín, communicated to me that all the rituals (individual and collective) are realized "looking at the volcano because from the cordillera the sun rises where life comes to us."

The Mapuches who live near the volcanoes have developed a system of beliefs in which the volcano has a vital importance. To them, the volcano is a "place of the spirits." Prosperino (a Mapuche of the zone of Lake Calafquen, province of Valdivia) affirmed to Calvo that his ancestors believed, a belief that is maintained even today, "that there were spirits in the cordillera who obeyed our Lord. My God commands the volcanoes to be in the cordillera, they obey; and when my God is angry because we no longer remember him, come the big 'sweep' (lava), misfortune" (Calvo, 1980:83) (3).

Prosperino concludes with the following words:

> "We (the Mapuches) believe that the lord (Ngenechen) commands all, he is the first, that is why we realize **nguillatun**, that is the idea of the Mapuche, so that we may have good harvest, good life, thus we pray and this is done facing where the sun rises (Cordillera de los Andes), because he too has powers."
>
> Calvo, 1980:83.

Poeppig, a German doctor and naturalist who was in Chile between the years 1826 and 1829 (4), confirmed through his own experience the Ngenechen/volcano interaction. During his short visit, Poeppig established contact with the **Pehuenches** or "people of the pine-wood," an Araucanian nomad tribe that ranged both sides of the Cordillera de los Andes between 37° and 40° south latitude. Poeppig completed an ascension to the Antuco volcano (2 990 meters) in the province of Bio-Bio, an experience that deserves to be mentioned here because it constitutes a living example of the mythical importance of the volcano in the Araucanian supernatural world. Poeppig summarizes in the following manner his return from the ascension of the mentioned volcano, which had powerful repercussions in the beliefs of the Pehuenches.

> "The ascension of the (Antuco) volcano had considerably augmented the respect the semi-naked warriors (Pehuenches) had for me, since there existed the belief that to attempt it, more than common courage was necessary. Due to this ascension, the superstitious peasants of Antuco ascribed prestige to me which displeased me; this, at the same time, attributed to me the capacity to dominate powers that the common man does well not to defy. After my return to the village, and once a few days had passed, the Pehuenches who knew me renewed the trust that existed between them and me before my ascension of the

> volcano. This situation had a comic epilogue when a peasant, after a long explanation and after offering me the sacrifice of some fowl, asked me to obtain a few days of good weather for his harvest" (5).
>
> Poeppig, 1960:446.

According to Mapuche cosmology, upon climbing the volcano, Poeppig "defied" the power of the spirits that inhabited it; but "upon establishing contact with them and then returning alive," Poeppig transformed himself into a "human intermediary" between the inhabitants of the surroundings of the volcano and the spirits that exist in that mythical/ritual place, spirits who obey Ngenechen. In the last part of his affirmation, Poeppig tells us that a peasant of the place offered a sacrifice of fowl to him and then asked him to obtain "some days of good weather to realize his harvest." This account indicates the intimate relation that the Mapuches have established among the sun, Ngenechen, and the volcano, a trilogy that is perceived in all the rituals of this people even today. With respect to this point, it is useful to remember that the position of the **rewe** (altar of the **machi**), the **nguillatun** altars, the **rukas** (houses), and the cemeteries (**eltun**) is determined by a "ritual axis" that indicates the East to West direction. The East symbolizes the beginning of the vital cycle; the West its ending.

Ngenechen and the Machi

In Mapuche society, the machi (priest or priestess/shaman) centralizes the religious and political power (Dillehay, 1983). This great power of the machi is based principally in the machi's condition of being "a Mapuche chosen by the deity." Alonqueo suggests that Ngenechen elects the Mapuche who will be machi when he/she "is still in the maternal belly or when he/she is in the cradle" (1985:48). This divine election empowers the machi to constitute herself/himself into the holy being who "controls the esoteric knowledge of the sacred codes and norms of Mapuche society and the process through which the authority of the chiefs is validated" (Dillehay, 1983:142). In this manner, the Mapuche priest is the depositary of the **admapu**; that is, of the tacit legal code that organizes and regulates the norms of conduct and the ancestral/traditional cultural values of the Mapuche people.

Moesbach also sustains that the Mapuche machi is elected by Ngenechen. With respect to this, all machis emphasize that:

> "The machis are created as such; the god of the sky (Wenumapu Dios) has ordained me, I am not a machi by my own intent."
>
> Moesbach, 1973:331.

The **ngeikurewen** constitutes the total Ngenechen/Mapuche union, a union that is objectified in the new machi. With the purpose of demonstrating the Ngenechen/machi interaction, I transcribe two initiating prayers characteristic of every ceremony of investiture (ngeikurewen) of a new machi. The first prayer corresponds to the older machis who participated in the instruction/initiation of the new machi. The second prayer is the prayer of the machi recently initiated.

1.- Prayer of the consecrator machis:

> "In good form shall you make that young girl assume her profession, you will make her machi and good machi due to your intervention, oh father god (Chau Dios), who are in the heights. You are the old man creator of men (Elchefe Fucha), the old woman creator of them (Elchefe Kushe). You have wanted that your daughter be machi, oh father god, old man moulder of men (Deumachefe Fucha), old woman moulder of them (Deumachefe Kushe)."
>
> Moesbach, 1973:334.

2.- At the culminating moment of the ngeikurewen, the consecrated machi ascends by the steps of her **rewe** towards the upper extremity, where she dances, sings/prays to

Ngenechen:

> "You have designated me machi, father god, old king (Rey Fucha), old queen (Rey Kushe); infuse me the prayers so that I may become a machi, communicate the songs to me, the art of playing the **kultrun**. Actually my machis are helping me, instituted by you, god creator of men, of males and women and of all animals.
>
> Today, then, I will be a perfect machi, thanks to you, dominator of men (Ngenechen), old god and old goddess.
>
> Your predilection towards me made me a machi, that is why I am."
>
> Moesbach, 1973:336-8.

Born from Ngenechen's election, the new machi is a vital link in the chain that unites the Mapuche people with their divinity. Due to her condition of special entity derived from divine selection, the machi reaches a great power and knowledge, which transforms her into "a highly regarded and feared personality" (Verniory, 1975:75). This power allows the machi to be present in all religious ceremonies and to exercise a strong influence in political matters of Mapuche society (Dillehay, 1983:142).

The religious and political power of the machi is centralized in her three basic attributes: as priest or priestess, that is, as an intermediary between the natural and supernatural world; as a medicine man/woman or "guardian and saviour" of the life of the Mapuches; and as soothsayer and prophet.

As a priest/priestess, the machi has the following functions:

- Intermediary between the Mapuche people and Ngenechen.
- Intermediary between Mapuche society and the world of the spirits.
- Intermediary between the Mapuches and the spirits of the ancestors.
- "Priest / Priestess" of Mapuche biocosmology.

- Controls the elements (water, rain, clouds, air, wind, heat, cold, etc.), and, by antonomasia, climate (Lenz, 1897:336. Verniory, 1975:78, 80).

As medicine-man or woman, the machi carries out the following functions:

- Possessor of the traditional knowledge of Mapuche ethnobotany, basic for the preparation of medicines in the treatment of diseases.
- Mortal enemy of the **kalku** ("bad" witch).
- Separates the **wekufe** (bad spirit causing the disease) from the sick.

The machi possesses a "divine gift" which allows her to divine and to prophesy. This capacity / ability permits the machi:

- To exercise a clear socio-political power on Mapuche society. Through prediction, the machi is capable of detecting those Mapuches who have broken some social norm, especially in the specific case of a given theft or in the destruction of material goods belonging to other Mapuches. Through this capacity to divine, the machi can also discover the Mapuche witch (kalku) who has caused damage or a spell to another Mapuche. Once the "wrongdoer" has been discovered, the machi determines the type of punishment to be imposed. With this attitude, the machi regulates and controls the social interaction among the members of "her people."
- "Read the future" (Ruiz Aldea, 1902:58-9), a capacity that transforms the machi into a prophet that can "see" future moments of crisis. Upon glimpsing a period of crisis, the machi pressures the **lonkos** (chiefs) to expedite the realization of the **nguillatun**. The machis understand that the crises affecting the Mapuches "are not essentially individual or regional, but that they affect the entire society" (Dillehay, 1983:148). Every crisis the Mapuches have to confront must be made known to Ngenechen in the nguillatun, the ritual in which the machi constitutes herself into a sub-priest under the command of the **ngenpin** or high priest of this ceremony. Here, and in the natural / green temple of Mapuche land, the machi intercedes

for her people in the presence of Ngenechen so that "Mapuche life" may continue within a frame of stability, tranquility, and trust in a better future.

Notes

1.- Father Luis de Valdivia printed in Lima in 1606 the "Arte y gramática general de la lengua que corre en todo el Reyno de Chile", followed by "Vocabulario de la Lengua de Chile", by a "Doctrina Cristiana", and by a "Confesionario breve" booklet that was reprinted in Sevilla in 1684 and ultimately (1887) in Leipzig (note of Medina, in "Histórica Relación del Reino de Chile", Ovalle, 1969:359).

2.- The Belgian engineer Gustave Verniory was in Chile between the years 1889 and 1899, a period in which he knew the Mapuche land and its inhabitants. For a period of ten years, Verniory established contact with the Mapuches, realizing important observations referring to some social, political, historical, religious, and cultural aspects of these people. His work, "Diez Años en Araucania, 1889-1899" (1975), constitutes a valuable source of information related to the Mapuche society of that epoch.

3.- To those interested in a mythico-traditional interaction of the Mapuche deity and the volcano, I suggest consulting "Secretos y Tradiciones Mapuches" (1980), a text in which Calvo reproduces interesting antecedents related to the belief system of the Mapuches of the zone of Lake Calafquén, province of Valdivia.

4.- Edward Poeppig, born in 1798 in Plauen, Germany, studied in Leipzig where he became, in 1822, a medical doctor. He travelled extensively throughout Europe, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, France, the Pyrenees, Cuba, the United States, Perú, and Chile. The fruit of this trips was a publication in two volumes, the first dedicated uniquely to Chile. Published in 1835 in Leipzig, it bears the title "Reise in Chile, Peru und auf dem Amazonenstrome während der jahre 1827-

1832" ("Viaje a Chile, Perú y en el río Amazonas durante los años 1827-1832") (note of Carlos Keller, translator, in "Un testigo en la alborada de Chile", Poeppig, 1960:9-10).

5.- In all his exposition concerning the indigenous people, Poeppig is decidedly anti-indigenistic, which is easily explained by his experiences in the frontier war which he knew because of his resolute participation to the Chilean army. As always occurs in wars, which are inspired by hate, the worst conditions are attributed to the adversary (note of Carlos Keller, translator, in "Un testigo en la alborada de Chile", Poeppig, 1960:447).

CHAPTER 4

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE NGUILLATUN

The **nguillatun** is the most representative ritual the Mapuches have preserved and brandished as a "cultural weapon" against the strong influence of the "great civilization of the West." Mapuche society has resisted for more than five hundred years the intrusion of **winka** (non-Mapuche) ideologies, thanks to its social/religious system which is cyclically reinforced in the mentioned ritual. In other words, Mapuche culture has systematized and institutionalized the nguillatun as an extension and objectivation of its system of beliefs which is intimately united to its social structure. It is in this manner that the duties and activities that the Mapuches of the **reducción** organizing the nguillatun must carry out in the preparation and realization of this ritual, are organized, distributed, and controlled by an executive power. This power is composed by the **ngenpin** (high priest of the nguillatun), the **machis** (Mapuche priest, priestess/shaman), and the **lonkos** (**caciques** and chiefs of lesser rank) who, upon traditional socio-ritual norms (**admapu**) which have regulated Mapuche life, act inspired and guided by their ancestors.

My personal experiences as an active participant in several nguillatuns observed between the years 1966 and 1978 in the Province of Cautín permit me to affirm that even when each nguillatun complies with specific objectives materialized in prayers/petitions to Ngenechen, there exists in this ritual a central structure that has maintained itself through the epochs. The presence of the ngenpin, machis, lonkos, ritual dancers; the presentation of flags, animals, birds, and sacred plants (Mapuche biocosmology) to Ngenechen, all of this united to the altar of the **nguillatuwe** (natural open temple or ceremonial ground), are the basic human and material elements that unify all the nguillatun. Through this unity, the Mapuche people demonstrate to us that they are a montheistic people, a monotheism, belief in a supreme deity, that from ancient times until the present has constituted one of the basis of the persistence of that culture.

With the purpose of demonstrating the preceding interpretation, I will analyze the nguillatun, a ritual that is performed to strengthen the nexus of socio-ritual-cultural interactions among the members of the Mapuche society and between this society and its deity Ngenechen. To achieve this goal, I have selected a nguillatun which took place in Maquehue (Province of Cautín) in December 1971, a nguillatun known by the name of "Mono Paine" nguillatun, the name attributed to the particular anthropomorphic altar (**chemamull**) that in that occasion centralized the ritual activities (Figure 37). Consequently, in the following structural analysis of the nguillatun I will utilize the "Mono Paine" 1971 model for a clearer interpretation and comprehension of the three fundamental aspects of the nguillatun:

1. Socio-ritual organization of the nguillatun.
2. Symbology of the nguillatun. Importance of the axiomatic symbols and the integral symbols.
3. The Mapuche nguillatun: prayer/conversation with Ngenechen. Supplications / petitions the Mapuches direct to their divinity.

Socio - ritual organization of the nguillatun

The **nguillatun** is the collective ritual in which the members of Mapuche society periodically reinforce socio-ritual interactions with the purpose of praying/asking to their deity Ngenechen in those moments of crisis that affect all the Mapuches.

The concept nguillatun encloses in itself the idea of union/communication among the Mapuches and between them and their divinity. Nguillatun means "pray, prayer, to pray; prayers" (Tripailaf, 1948:14; Augusta, 1966:66; Casamiquela, 1964:15; Moesbach, 1978:168; Dowling, 1973:29). To Hassler, the nguillatun is the:

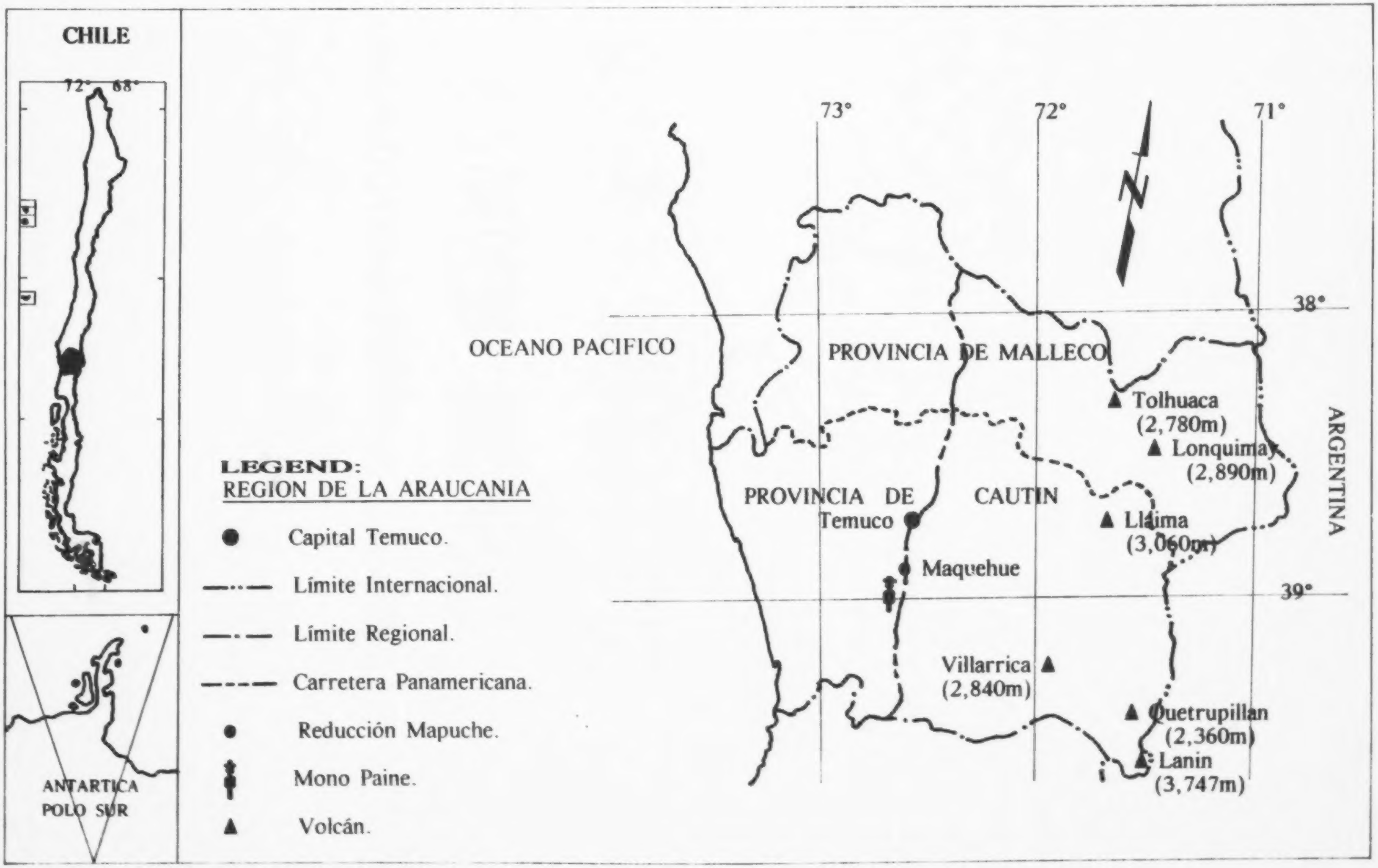

CHILE
72°
68°
ANTARTICA
POLO SUR
LEGEND:
REGION DE LA ARAUCANIA
● Capital Temuco.
—··— Límite Internacional.
—·— Límite Regional.
----- Carretera Panamericana.
● Reducción Mapuche.
Mono Paine.
▲ Volcán.
OCEANO PACIFICO
73°
72°
71°
38°
39°
N
PROVINCIA DE MALLECO
PROVINCIA DE CAUTIN
Temuco
Maquehue
Tolhuaca (2,780m)
Lonquimay (2,890m)
Llaima (3,060m)
Villarrica (2,840m)
Quetrupillan (2,360m)
Lanin (3,747m)
ARGENTINA

Figure 37. Geographical location of the **nguillatuwe** (ceremonial ground) of "Mono Paine." Maquehue, Province of Cautín, Chile.

> "prayer the Araucanos realize to solicit their God Ngenechen to help in their tribulations and so that he will send them rain, good harvests and will favor the growth of their **haciendas**."
>
> Hassler, 1957:76.

Alonqueo affirms that:

> "the nguillatun is a spiritual manifestation of the Mapuche people, in which a tribute of homage is rendered to the supreme maker (Ngenechen) whose providence is implored for their survival."
>
> Alonqueo, 1985:39 (1).

The definition by Alonqueo graphs the constant threat of a profound sociocultural change that would directly threaten the existence of the Mapuche people. The survival of this people depends, fundamentally, on an iron union among its members; and on a clear comprehension, experience, and revitalization of its own cultural values. This idea has always been present in the minds of the Mapuche chiefs and priests, who, cyclically re-thinking this situation, revive the ancestral ethnic values in the ritual of the nguillatun. In this ritual, Mapuche society reunites itself around its deity Ngenechen, unifying at the same time basic elements of its social structure and of its religious organization. It is in this way that the supernatural, the sensible world, and social control are clearly appreciated in every nguillatun.

The socio-ritual structure of the "Mono Paine" 1971 nguillatun was centralized in Ngenechen, who, as the axial entity of the Mapuche supernatural world, "controlled" the adequate development of the ritual and "heard" the supplications/petitions of the people. The organization/distribution of duties, activities, and symbology of the natural, human, and supernatural elements that objectified the mentioned nguillatun appears graphed in Figure 38, which I will now analyze.

Cardinal points

As in all the rituals (individual or collective), the cardinal points oriented the activities of the ritual. The Mapuches realized the "Mono Paine" nguillatun "looking at" the east, that for them is the point from which comes life, and backing the sea or west (place of death).

Music

The traditional Mapuche music has constituted one of the cultural values whose expressive message has been a system of communication that has united the Mapuches in their festivities and religious ceremonies. The **kultrun**, the **kaskawilla**, the **pifilka**, and the **trutruka** are the four basic instruments through which the Mapuche society materializes the music that so well defines and identifies that society. The ritual importance of the mentioned musical instruments has been noted by several scholars of the Mapuche culture. Upon analyzing the trutruka, Henríquez affirms that:

> "the most noted participation of this wind instrument is in very ancient ceremonies, especially in the ceremony of the nguillatun which are prayers that have for objective to implore for the protection, shelter, and material generosity of their deity Ngenechen (Governor of the people), when rains are scarce or lacking, or when the harvests are bad or some epidemic affects the people."
>
> Henríquez, 1973:33.

The trutruka is an aerophone constructed using a **colihue** which is previously cut longitudinally with the purpose of removing the central fibrous material to achieve a continuous orifice, hence transforming the colihue into a tube. The two parts of the colihue are united with a hemp tie that maintains them firmly connected. This tube is then introduced into the fresh intestine of a horse (biocosmology). When the intestine

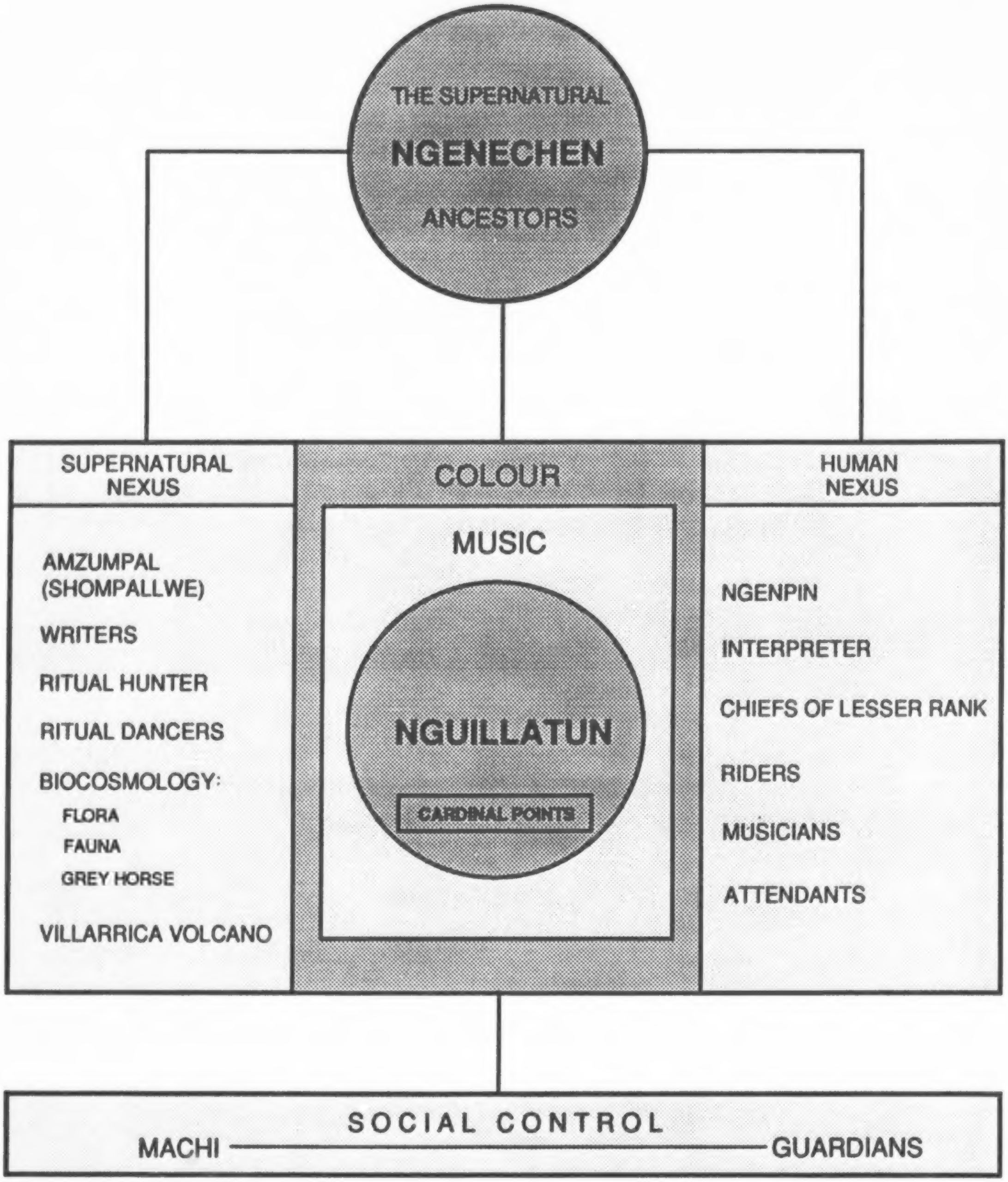

THE SUPERNATURAL
NGENECHEN
ANCESTORS
SUPERNATURAL NEXUS
AMZUMPAL (SHOMPALLWE)
WRITERS
RITUAL HUNTER
RITUAL DANCERS
BIOCOSMOLOGY:
FLORA
FAUNA
GREY HORSE
VILLARRICA VOLCANO
COLOUR
MUSIC
NGUILLATUN
CARDINAL POINTS
HUMAN NEXUS
NGENPIN
INTERPRETER
CHIEFS OF LESSER RANK
RIDERS
MUSICIANS
ATTENDANTS
SOCIAL CONTROL
MACHI
GUARDIANS

FIGURE **38** SOCIO - RITUAL INTERACTIONS OBSERVED IN THE NGUILLATUN "MONO PAINE." 1971

OMAR CASTRO GATICA - 1988

reaches its maximum degree of dryness, the two halves of the colihue are strongly united. Thus, the air with which the Mapuche musician makes the musical sounds of the instrument does not escape to the exterior. The trutruka has at its lower extremity a short horn that serves as a resonance box. The upper extremity possesses a bevel cut that facilitates the positioning of the lips of the musician, permitting an adequate execution of the instrument. The length of the trutruka ranges between 1.5 and 4.0 meters (Figure 39).

The **pifilka** is another Mapuche wind instrument. It is made of wood, and has a cylindrical shape. The upper extremity is flattened, forming its mouth. At its central part, it possesses a vertical orifice into which the musician blows strongly towards the interior of the instrument, thus obtaining the musical sounds characteristic of this aerophone. The pifilka measures between 0.14 and 0.30 meters (Figure 40).

The initiating ceremony in which a Mapuche chosen by Ngenechen is transformed into a **machi** culminates with the gift to the new machi of specific esoteric/ritual symbols that objectify his/her power. The **rewe** (private altar) and the **kultrun** (drum) are two of the most significant symbols the machi receives. The designs on the cover of the kultrun summarize secret powers and knowledge that enable the machi to exercise his/her mission. Thus, he/she is the only member of Mapuche society that can play the mentioned musical instrument on occasions that require it; with the exception of the nguillatun. In this ritual, the high priest is the only man authorized by the machi to play the ritual drum, a faculty that constitutes "one of the distinctive exteriors of the **ngenpin**" (Tripailaf, 1948:14).

As authentic Mapuche creations, the kultrun, trutruka, and pifilka are the instruments that determine the traditional music of these people. These three instruments are the basis of the Mapuche orchestra, an ensemble that is always present in all the rituals and festivities of that society. It is necessary to point out that the trutruka and the

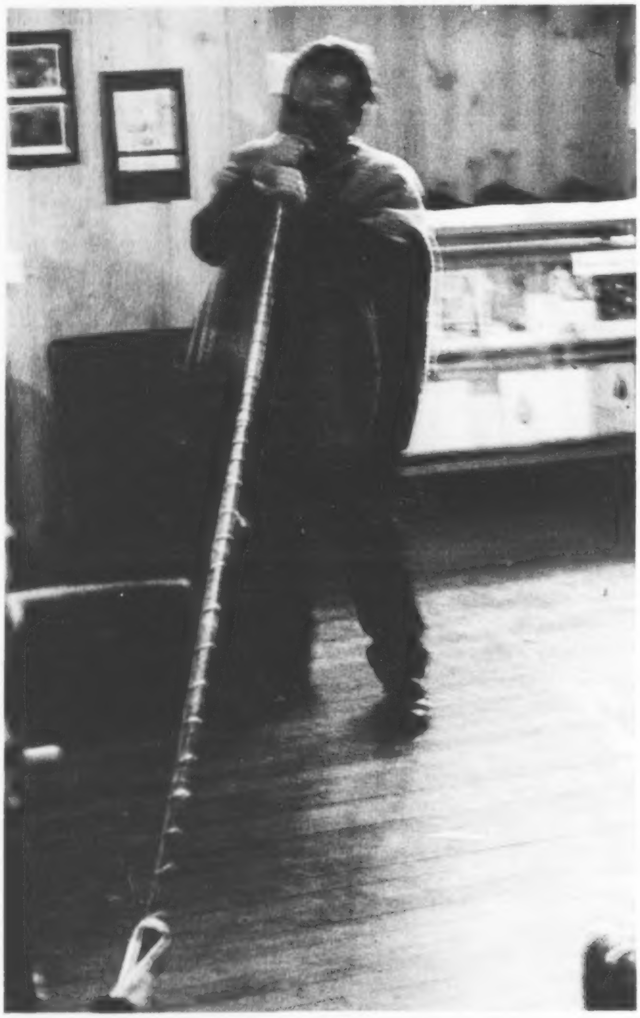


Figure 39. The **ngenpin** (Mapuche high priest) Pascual Ñancuvilu playing the **trutruka** (Mapuche aerophone).
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1972).

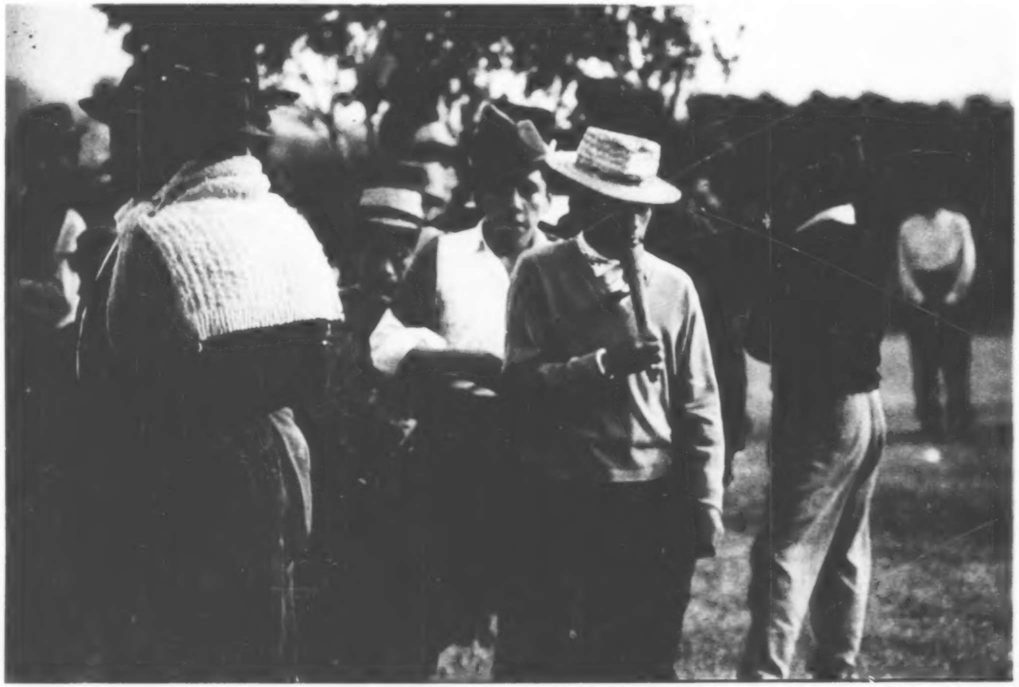


Figure 40. Mapuches playing **pifilka** (Mapuche aerophone). Scene of a **nguillatun** performed in Pircunche, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1974).

pifilka are played only by the men.

Color in the nguillatun

In the nguillatun, color is a symbolic-visual element that strengthens socio-ritual interactions among the participants, and "graphs" the necessities and/or special situations that in a particular moment preoccupy Mapuche society. In other words, each (and every) nguillatun is defined and determined by all the colors that all the attending Mapuches to the ritual "show" to Ngenechen with the purpose of documenting visually the petitions that they formulate to Chau Dios.

In the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971, the Mapuche people prayed/implored to Ngenechen for a favorable climate for the development of agricultural products, and for the constant strengthening of the fertility of animals and plants. With the purpose of reinforcing these petitions, the Mapuches "exhibited" to Dios Fucha natural, human, and cultural elements that were used as "ritual screens" onto which they "projected", fundamentally, blue, white, and black. This chromatic schema, that summarized the cosmos (sky, sun), and some components of climate (clouds, rain, wind), was objectified by flags, by the color on the faces and attire of the attendants, and by the color of animals (horses, bulls, oxen, lambs) and fowl (rooster, hen) (Mapuche biocosmology).

Supernatural nexus

The supernatural nexus with which the Mapuches united the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971 with Ngenechen were centralized in the elements that I will analyze as follows:

1.- Spiritual element

Since the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971 was realized in December, the month previous to harvest season, the Mapuche asked Deumachefe Fucha for warm weather. With the purpose of preventing a possible drought that would negatively have altered the normal level of agricultural production, the Mapuches prayed, at the same time, for a little rain. With this objective, the attendants to the ritual presonified the "water spirit," designated in Mapudungun by the name of **Amzumpal** or **Shompalwe**, in a woman on horseback. The color of the clothes that Amzumpal wore and the color of the horse she rode synthesized the petition of a temperate climate with "little" rain; these colors were based on black, white, and brown-reddish tones (see Figure 65).

2.- Human elements

a) "Writers." Mapuche ideology has given color the attribute of being one of the axial links in the union nature-Mapuche-Ngenechen. This affirmation has total validity, and is in full force in the activity that two men realize in the moments previous to the initiation of the nguillatun. In the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971, two Mapuche men or **wirintufes** "wrote" the petition of good weather with a little humidity by placing specified colors on the face of each man and woman, who subsequently, and only after their faces have "shown" to Ngenechen the mentioned petition, entered the spiritual place or **nguillatuwe**. The colors that these wirintufes placed on the faces of the attendants to the ritual were blue (clean sky, warm) and white (clouds bearing little water). In this manner, the "writers" complied with the supernatural mission of translating symbolically cosmic aspects (sky, sun, clouds) onto the cheeks of the participants in the nguillatun.

b) Ritual hunter and dancers. One of the dances observed in the nguillatun "Mono Paine 1971" was the dance of the **choique** or American ostrich (*Rhea darwini*). This dance was executed by four men (Mapuche tetranity) who imitated the movements of the bird. The choique dancers bore on their heads sacred feathers (biocosmology) which enable them to ritually fly towards Ngenechen to honor the deity with their dance.

As soon as the dancers were dressed, an activity they realized outside the limits of the ceremonial ground or nguillatuwe, a ritual hunter threw at them a **boleadora** or bolas (an ancient Mapuche weapon used preferably for hunting) with the purpose of "making them fly" towards the spiritual place where the nguillatun was performed. There, the four "men-choiques" danced in front of the altar and in between the rows of men and women attending the ritual. Thus, with this dance, the "bird-men" intimately united the natural with the supernatural world; and reinforced the nexus of socio-ritual interaction among all the Mapuches participating in the nguillatun.

3.- Biocosmological elements

In the nguillatun, the plants and animals the Mapuches show to their divinity are transformed into living entities that with their sexes and colors reinforce the sensible world/suprasensible world interaction.

In the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971, the Mapuches presented to Chao Dios plants and animals which materialized specific necessities. Those necessities, originating in the physical world, were communicated to Ngenechen, who, as the supreme axis of the spiritual world, "received" the message of its people and "satisfied" them positively. In the mentioned nguillatun, Mapuche society objectified in the colors of a bull, a lamb, a rooster and a hen, animals and fowl that the Mapuches placed in front of the anthropomorphic altar, the necessities of an adequate climate for the development of agricultural products, and a reinforcement of the fertility of the flora and fauna. The black / white colors of those animals and fowl reinforced the petition of a temperate climate with a "little" rain; their sexes, the necessity of a constant revitalization of their power to reproduce themselves.

Behind the altar, in the exterior/posterior limit of the nguillatuwe (ceremonial ground) and at the tacit line that unites the east with the west, the Mapuches located a sacred horse whose dark grey color reinforced the petition of temperate weather with a "little" rain (Figure 41). This horse was united ritually with the water spirit (Amzumpal) that in the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971 was situated in front of the altar at the same axial east-west axis (see Figure 42). The horse (biocosmology) and the **Amzumpal** (spirit) were two of the basic elements through which the Mapuches united their prayers / petitions to Fucha Chao with the clear purpose of ensuring the continuity of "Mapuche life."

In the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971, the Mapuches "showed" to Ngenechen plants that from ancient times have constituted a vital nexus between that society and the spiritual world. Those plants were the **maqui** (*Aristotelia maqui*), **colihue** (*Chusquea coleu*), **manzano** (*Malus communis*), and the **canelo** (*Drimys winteri*) or "sacred tree" of the Mapuches. These four plants formed part of the altar of the nguillatuwe where the mentioned nguillatun was realized.

Another of the ritual functions of the **canelo** was centralized in the hands of the high priest of the ritual and his helpers (interpreter and **lonkos** or chiefs of lesser rank). At the moment of directing their prayers/petitions to Ngenechen, the **ngenpin** used small branches of canelo which he introduced, at regular intervals, into a **jarro-pato** (duck-shaped pot) containing **muday**. With those impregnated branches, he sprinkled the land and the sky, and made aspersions towards mother earth and towards Chao Dios; ritual aspersions that were imitated by his helpers (see Figure 76).

Wheat (*Triticum vulgare*) now constitutes the staple of the Mapuche nutritional diet. From this cereal, the Mapuches manufacture the **chicha de trigo** known in Mapudungun as **muday**. This wheat liquor is the ritual beverage used by the orator and his coadjutors in the nguillatun. In this collective ceremony, wheat objectifies a form of **vegetal communion** that intimately ties Mapuche environment with Ngenechen (2).

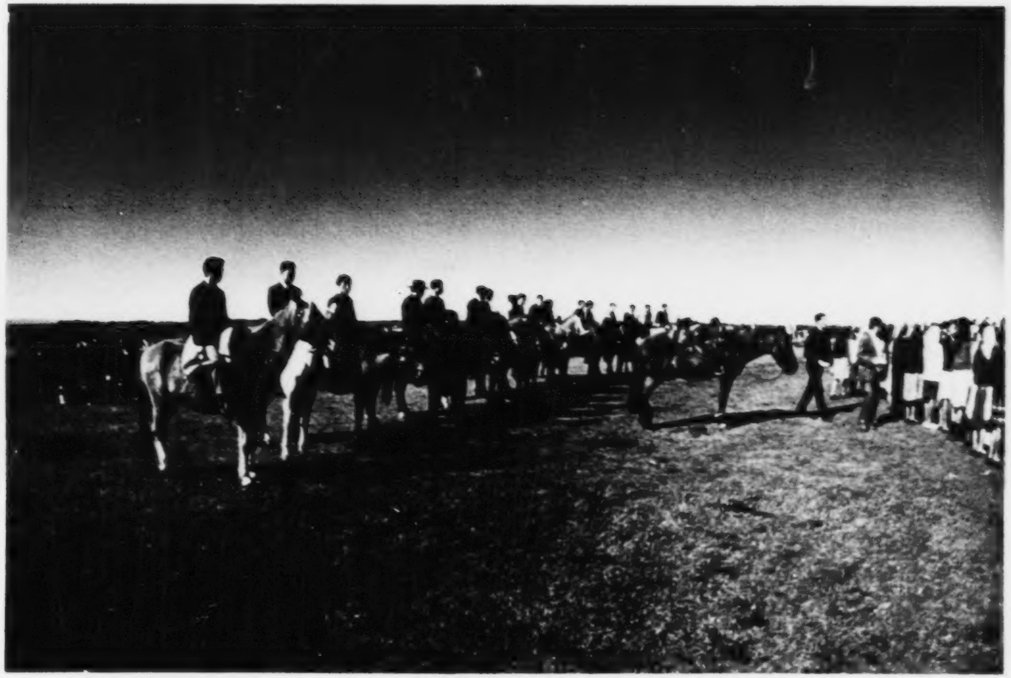
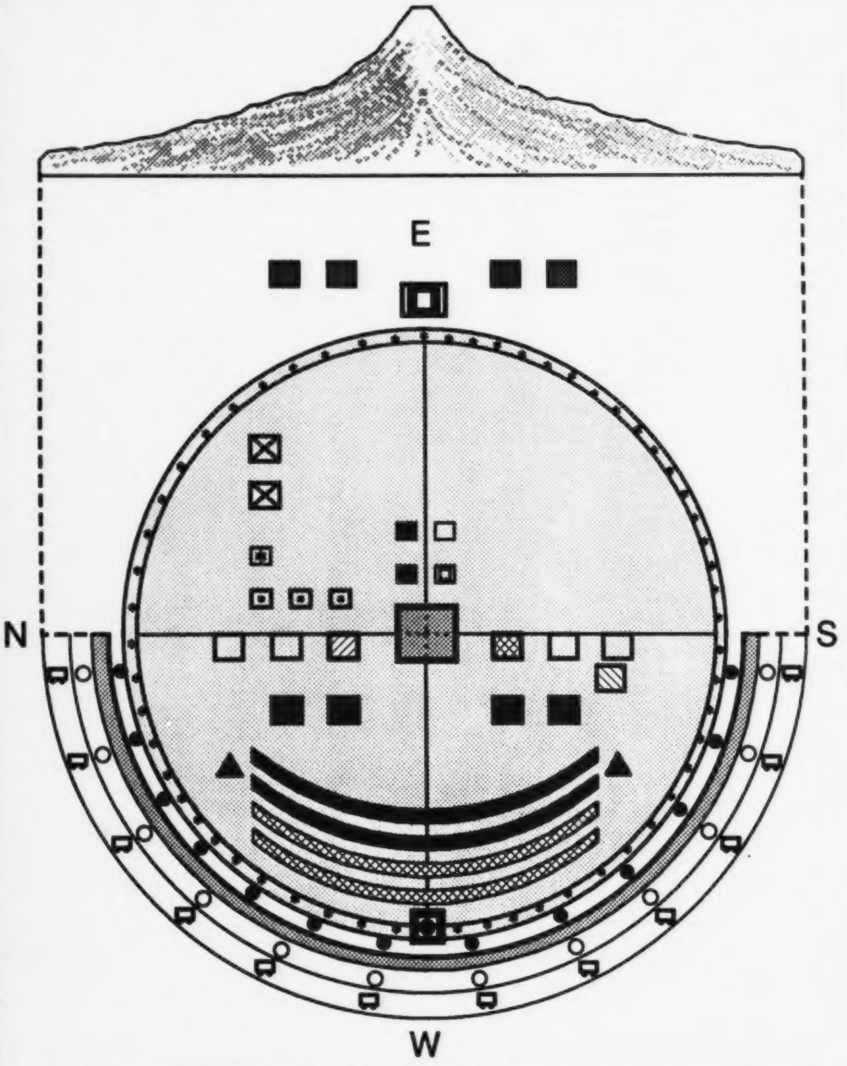


Figure 41. **Nguillatun** "Mono Paine," 1971. In this scene, one can observe a dark grey horse without a rider which - located at the posterior / exterior limit of the **nguillatuwe** or ceremonial ground - graphed the petition of temperate weather with a "little" rain.
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1971).



LEGEND:

△	VILLARRICA VOLCANO
⊞	ANTHROPOMORPHIC ALTAR
□	YOUNG BULL
■	LAMB
■	ROOSTER
▣	HEN
▣	AMZUMPAL (SHOMPALLWE) WATER SPIRIT DEPICTED BY A WOMAN ON HORSEBACK
▩	RITUAL DANCERS (FOUR)
◙	GREY HORSE
•	SEMICIRCULAR ROAD ON WHICH THE RIDERS ARE SITUATED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NGUILLATUN
■	FOUR MACHI (SACRED PRIESTESS AND MEDICINE-MAN OF THE MAPUCHE PEOPLE)
▧	RITUAL HUNTER
⊡	TRUTRUKA PLAYER
⊡	PIFILKA PLAYERS
▩	NGENPIN. LEADER, CHIEF CACIQUE WHO ORGANIZES AND CONDUCTS THE NGUILLATUN. HE IS THE AXIAL PRAYER OF THE RITUAL
▨	INTERPRETER
⊠	TWO MAPUCHE MEN IN CHARGE OF WRITING ON BOTH CHEEKS OF THE ATTENDANTS USING WHITE AND BLUE COLOURS (COLOURS THAT THIS OCCASION REQUIRES)
▲	TWO MAPUCHE MEN WHO MAINTAIN ORDER IN THE CEREMONY (GUARDIANS)
□	CHIEFS OF LESSER RANK (ASSISTANTS)
◡	TWO ROWS OF WOMEN
◡	TWO ROWS OF MEN
⊕	NATURAL TEMPLE
◡	CIRCULAR ROAD WHICH THE RIDERS USE TO CIRCLE AROUND THE NATURAL TEMPLE
⌣	TACIT LINE THAT SEPARATES THE SPIRITUAL PLACE FROM THE PHYSICAL WORLD
▭	SHARED ROAD
○	SEMICIRCULAR ROAD WHERE BONFIRES ARE BUILT
▭	OX-CARTS
- - - -	RITUAL BOUNDARY

FIGURE 42 MAPUCHE NGUILLATUN IN THE RITUAL PLACE OF "MONO PAINE." PROVINCE OF CAUTIN (CHILE). DECEMBER 1971.
HUMAN, GEOGRAPHICAL, MATERIAL AND RITUAL ELEMENTS OBSERVED IN THE NGUILLATUN.
NGUILLATUN DISTRIBUTION DIAGRAM.

OMAR CASTRO GATICA - 1988

4.- Geographical element

As one of the terrestrial powers of Ngenechen, the volcano is the mythico-spiritual place towards which the Mapuches direct their views, thoughts, and voices upon invoking their deity.

In the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971, the Villarrica volcano (2 840 metres) was the geographical/supernatural element that united the Mapuches with Ngenechen. This affirmation is based upon the following observations which I made as an active participant in that ritual:

a) The Villarrica volcano is located in the east, the cardinal point that to the Mapuches represents the place where life that is reborn every morning with the "birth" of the sun originates.

b) The Villarrica volcano was the ritual landmark that marked the eastern limit of the nguillatuwe where the "Mono Paine" nguillatun was held.

c) The anthropomorphic altar or Mono Paine (**chemamull**) is situated "looking" towards the mentioned volcano.

d) The position of the ngenpin and his helpers, the location of the **machis** and of the rows of women and men within the ceremonial ground, was facing the volcano.

e) The dance of the machis and the dance of the attendants were executed "looking" towards the Villarrica volcano.

f) The riders on horseback were located behind the altar, at the exterior limit of the **nguillatuwe**, forming a semicircle facing the volcano (see Figures 42 and 43).

It is important to point out that those Mapuches who remained alongside their oxcarts and their bonfires were located outside the ceremonial ground, behind the altar, forming a semicircle "looking at the volcano." During the development of the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971, the circulation of the Mapuches who did not enter the nguillatuwe was permitted only on the shared road. Thus, the external traffic did not interrupt the nguillatuwe/volcano union, facilitating a clearer and stronger

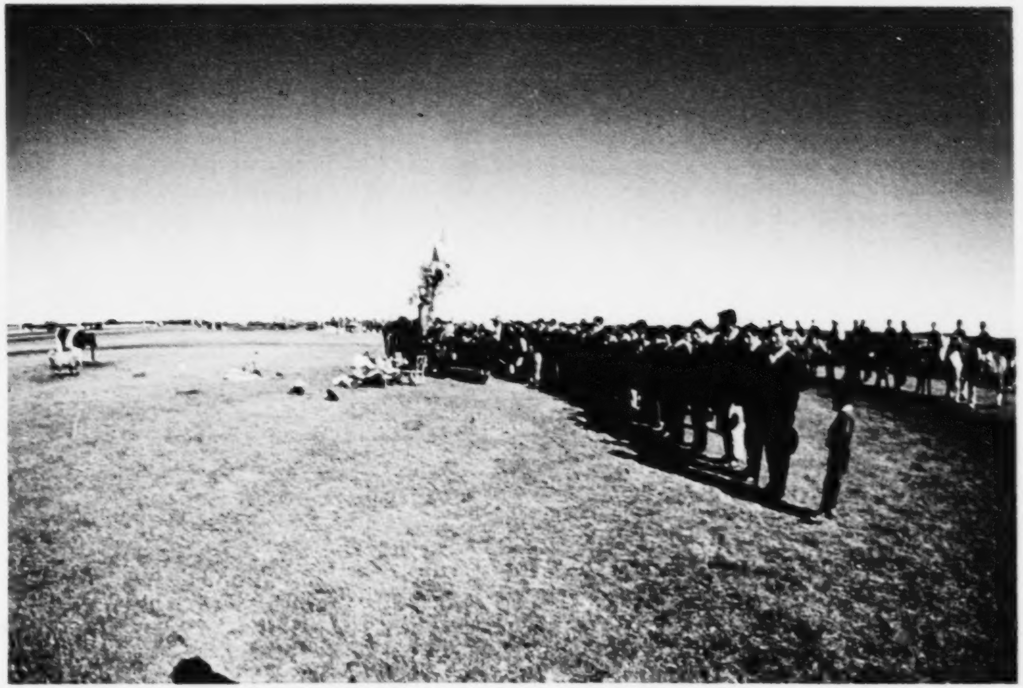


Figure 43. Panoramic view of the **nguillatun** "Mono Paine," 1971. In the interior of the **nguillatuwe** (natural temple) one can perceive the sacred animals and fowl, the altar "dressed" with plants and flags, the **machis**, two rows of women, and two rows of men. The circular strip of brown soil separates the spiritual place from the physical world. At the exterior limit of this strip are situated the riders on horseback. (Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1971).

communication between the Mapuche society and Ngenechen (Figure 42).

Human nexus

The human nexus that united the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971 with Ngenechen were the ngenpin with his interpreter, lonkos or chiefs of lesser rank, the riders, musicians, and the attendants to the ritual.

1.- The high priest or ngenpin

In Mapuche society, the man who has the position of high priest materializes in himself two of the ancestral cultural values of that society: he "lives" the code of Mapuche ethics, and is the depositary of Mapudungun.

a) The high priest and Mapuche ethics. With the purpose of objectifying the living and acting thought of the Mapuche people, the ngenpin must always maintain irreproachable behavior. This behavior is the "social mirror" in which the new Mapuche generation see themselves; and at the same time reflects the highest degree of religiosity, mysticism, and asceticism; psycho-socio-spiritual attributes that enable the ngenpin to represent the Mapuche society with dignity in view of Ngenechen. Tripailaf (1948) affirms that during the development of the nguillatun, the ngenpin is:

> "a taciturn personage; remains, while the ceremony lasts, resigned to silence and meditation, seated and the majority of the time looking down, imposing with his attitude a religious respect."
>
> Tripailaf, 1948:14.

In 1569 the first part of the epic poem "La Araucana" of Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga was published. This Spanish chronicler registered observations related with the existence of soothsayers, or **agoreros**, as he defines them. Some of those agoreros were preachers (orators) who were characterized by living a life with many restrictions and limitations; a system of life in total opposition to opulence and love for mundane pleasures that sustain hedonistic philosophy. Ercilla synthesizes the characteristics/values of that ancient **ngenpin** or Mapuche priest in the following terms:

"Algunos destos son predicadores tenidos en sagrada reverencia, que sólo se mantienen de loores, y guardan vida estrecha y abstinencia	"Some of them are preachers looked upon in sacred reverence, who sustain themselves only of praises, and keep a strict and abstaining life
Y éstos que guardan orden algo estrecha---------------------------	And these maintain rather stringent order-----------------------------
mas sólo aquel vivir les aprovecha de ser por sabios hombres reputados."	although only that living benefits them of being by sage men reputed."

Ercilla,1980:22.

Ercilla sustains that Mapuche society treated their preachers with "sacred reverence," and considered them "sage men." These attributes that characterized the ngenpin are reaffirmed by Tripailaf when he states that the Mapuche priest "was elected from among the old men of recognized capacity and of impeccable conduct" (1948:14). Hence, the election of ngenpin has been centralized in the living of Mapuche ethics, and in the capacity of the future ngenpin to continue constantly reinforcing the traditional knowledge of these people.

b) The ngenpin and Mapudungun. The determinism, clarity, and depth with which Mapuche language or Mapudungun permits the existence of vital nexus among the members of that society, and between the Mapuches and the natural and supernatural world, has attracted the attention of numerous scholars of that language. Moesbach sustains that Mapudungun:

> "through the inclusion of multiple particles and roots of all kinds of words, increases its expressive power to an almost unlimited extent; it acquires an adaptability that enables it to

> describe with complete precision even the most insignificant details of any object, as well as the most subtle modifications of thought."
>
> Moesbach, 1963:15.

Alonqueo categorically affirms that the richness of Mapuche vocabulary:

> "is demonstrating in clear and evident form the degree of culture these people attained, manifested through their social organization, customs; in their ease of word usage in their oratory."
>
> Alonqueo, 1985:12.

The same author adds that:

> "the Mapuche people survive the other tribes due to their language rich in terms that includes philosophical ideas and concepts."
>
> Alonqueo, 1985:12.

The possibility of agglutinating morphemes to obtain a new word that expresses a better and more profound idea about the message to communicate is one of the fundamental characteristics of the Mapuche language. Alonqueo provides us with a clear example of that characteristic. To him, the Mapuche concept **kewün** encloses the ideas of "language, wisdom, knowledge, science, experience" (1985:16). Upon adding the word kewün to another, Alonqueo provides us with the following concepts that are directly related with the principal styles, variations, or **diglossia** (Hudson, 1983:53-5) proper to Mapudungun:

Alongkewün = lucid, clear, and expressive language.
Karrükewün = flowery language like an immense lawn.
Kintrekewün = truthful, restrained language.
Kurikewün = black, dark, dull language.

Kurrakewün = hard, unyielding language.

Likankewün = simple language.

Linkokewün = abundant language of much content.

Llankakewün = precious language.

Marikewün = sage language.

Molfüñkewün = sanguinary language.

Paillakewün = mistrustful, dubious language.

Wichakewün = emphasis in language, sage language and truthful in advice, word of honor having only one direction.

Alonqueo, 1985:16 (3).

Among all the variations that it is possible to encounter in the use of Mapudungun, oratory has been the most valued style by Mapuche society. The art of public speaking has constituted the "oral link" that has strongly united the Mapuches in war and in peace. During the war the Mapuches waged against the **conquistadores**, the oratory employed by the **toquis** was a mortal weapon those war chiefs used to incite the Mapuche host against the European invaders (Figure 44) (4). Later, and when the Spanish had already conquered a great part of the territory occupied by the Araucanian peoples, parley was one of the systems with which the Spanish **peninsulares** attempted to "pacify" their indefatigable enemies. To the conquistadores, the parleys were "transition stages" between war and peace, stages in which the value of Mapuche oratory was again demonstrated upon confronting the "hispanic rhetoric" at a linguistic level that equalled the verbalization of ideas, thoughts, and the intentions of both groups.

In peacetime, oratory has developed a vital role, especially in the establishment of socio-cultural, political, and religious interactions among the Mapuche. With respect to this point, Wood sustains that:

> "Oratory is highly valued by the Mapuches; and should a young man have some power of speech, and train it into eloquence, he is on the high road to distinction, and will probably end by becoming a chief, though originally of inferior rank."
>
> Wood, 1870:548.

Continuing with Wood's description, it is important to retrace the three essential characteristics that, according to Wood, define a good Mapuche orator:

> "1. Retentive memory.
> 2. Be fluent of speech.
> 3. Choice of diction. This is a point in which the Mapuches are exceedingly fastidious."
>
> Wood, 1870:548.

The third characteristic stipulated by Wood is one of the most severe requirements that Mapuche society imposes upon the orator in the use of Mapudungun. The purity in the diction with which the orator establishes a clear, ordered, and comprehensible communication with his congeners has been, until the present, the stimulus that "excites the respectful admiration of his hearers" (Wood, 1870:548).

In Mapuche society, the social, political, cultural, and religious interaction maintain the cohesion of its members. In this cohesion, oratory performs the function of "social ladder" that facilitates the ascension towards the position of chief (**lonko**) for the Mapuche man having the capacity and ability in the use of Mapudungun. Molina summarizes this assertion upon suggesting that:

> "the rhetoric is among them (Mapuches) in great estimation, because this science, as in ancient Rome, is conducive to honor." Molina, 1978:131.

To Mapuche society, "a great orator is a great man. The expert use of language is synonymous with intelligence and wisdom" (Martínez et al., 1988:458). These attributes have determined oratory as one of the cultural values fundamental in the existence and persistence of that society.

That which has so far been described in relation to Mapudungun is summarized in the word that defines the high Mapuche priest: **ngenpin**. **Ngenpin** signifies "owner of the spoken word" (Augusta, 1966:59; Moesbach, 1973:372; Molina, 1978:132; Noggler, 1982:43; Tripailaf, 1948:14). In the **nguillatun** "Mono Paine 1971", the high priest Pascual Ñancuvilu was the official orator of the ritual; his vital function, "to converse" with Ngenechen. To obtain from Chao Dios the positive response/solution that all the Mapuches participating in the nguillatun hoped for, Ñancuvilu consciously and responsibly objectified in his oratory the purest and most genuine Mapuche language. The high priest transformed the Mapudungun used by him into the precise ritual language that Mapuche tradition demands in the adequate ngenpin/Ngenechen interaction. This ritual language was translated by an interpreter for all the attendants. Located at the north side of the altar (see Figure 76), the interpreter translated into common Mapudungun the words of the ngenpin, thus converting them into a religious/spiritual experience that intimately united all the attendants to the nguillatun.

c) **Functions of the ngenpin.** In the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971, the ngenpin carried out the following functions:

1.- Religious functions.

  a) He prayed/implored to Ngenechen, summarizing the thinking of each man and woman; of every Mapuche family.

  b) He objectified in himself the axial link that united the sensible world with the

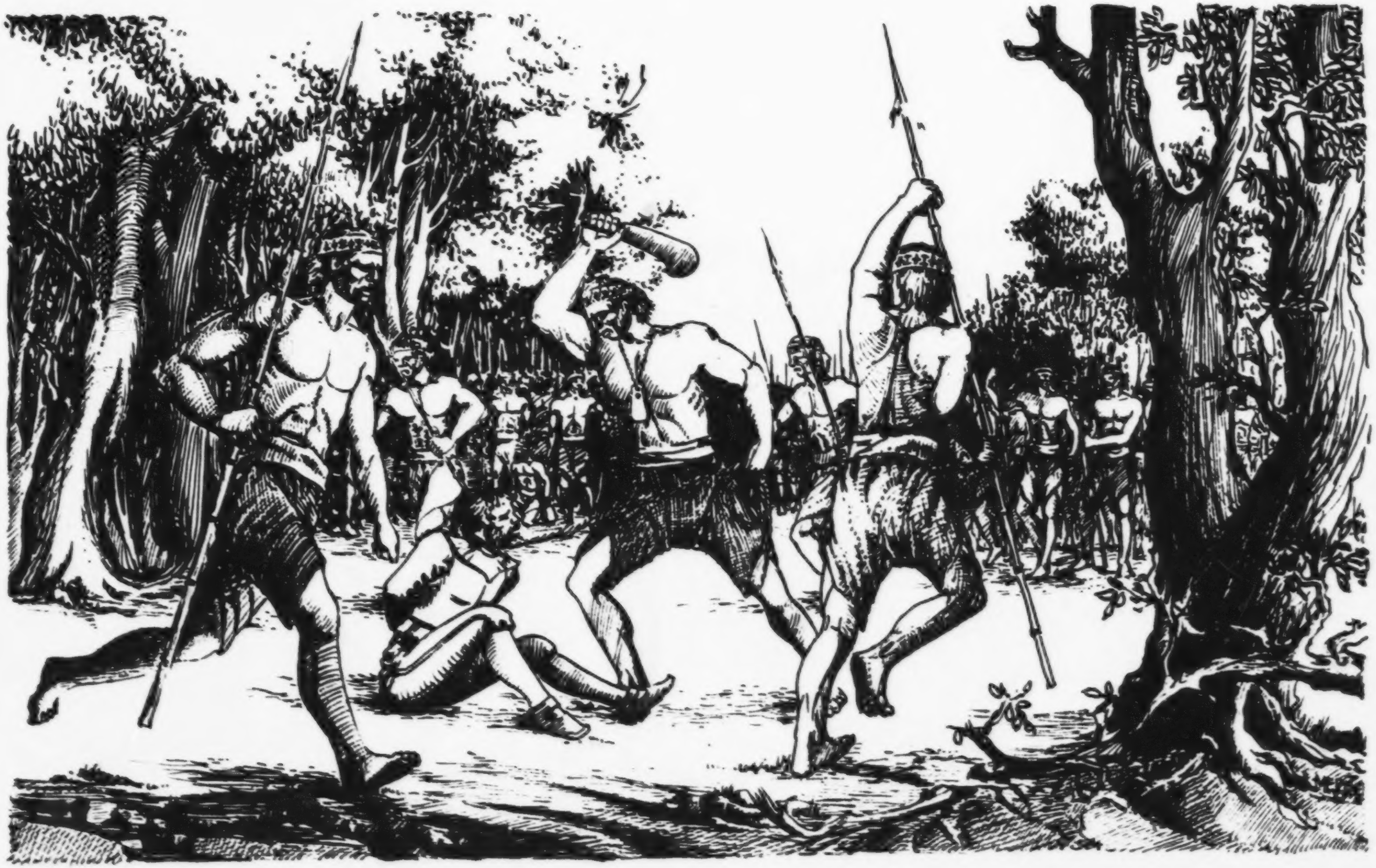


Figure 44. Sacrifice of a Spanish prisoner by a **toqui** or Mapuche war chief. Artistic interpretation of the moment before the death of that prisoner. This scene was observed by Pineda y Bascuñán in 1629 and narrated by him in his work *Cautiverio Feliz y Razón Individual de las Guerras Dilatadas del Reino de Chile* (1973:37-41). (Drawing by Guillermo Meriño Pedreros, 1977).

suprasensible.

c) He strengthened the value of Mapuche biocosmology as one of the vital media of communication with Chao Dios.

2.- Psychological function.

He resolved/sublimated the preoccupations, fears, and anguishes of Mapuche society that at that moment confronted an emergency situation.

3.- Social function.

With the realization of the **nguillatun**, he centralized and reinforced a nexus of social interaction among the members of the Mapuche society.

4.- Economic function.

With his cultural performance, the **ngenpin** obtained from Ngenechen the strengthening of a normal agricultural-livestock production that permitted the Mapuches to continue with the interchange and/or acquisition of goods within the capitalist system in which they are presently inserted.

5.- Cultural function.

a) He was the depository of Mapuche language.

b) He ensured the continuity of traditional knowledge of Mapuche society with which he reinforced the cultural identity and persistence of that society.

c) In his interaction with Ngenechen, the high priest "showed" to that divinity, and to all the attendants, artistic expressions that constituted one of the bases of his oratory. Music, song, dance, sculpture, ceramics, weaving, and basket-making were the principal aesthetic manifestations through which the ngenpin materialized his communication with Chao Dios. Thus, in the nguillatun, Mapuche art transformed itself into a sacred art that revitalized the Mapuche people/Ngenechen union.

d) The Mapuche children attending the ritual revitalized their knowledge related to the religious, social, and cultural bases of the society in which they live.

To those children, the nguillatun transformed itself into a living and acting learning situation whose professor was the high priest. The activities developed by the ngenpin were powerful stimuli with which he oriented the new Mapuche generation towards traditional cultural values, reinforcing at the same time the comprehension and acceptance of the green deity: Ngenechen.

2.- Lonkos or chiefs of lesser rank

Since the day in which a particular Mapuche community has agreed to realize a nguillatun and until the moment of its finalization, the lonkos or chiefs of lesser rank carry out their functions under the orders of the ngenpin or high priest of the ritual. The lonkos carry out their functions in two stages: in the preparation of the nguillatun, and in the development of that collective ceremony.

During the preparations of the nguillatun, the lonkos have the following functions:

a) To supervise the preparation of food and beverages that will be served in the nguillatun.

b) To perform animal sacrifices (preferably bovines and ovines) to honor Ngenechen. The meat of those animals is the basis of the food that is consumed in the ritual.

c) To invite the adjacent Mapuche reducciones, especially that which performed the last and most recent nguillatun to which the present community organizing the ritual was previously invited. Thus, the lonkos carry out the vital function of revitalizing the nexus of socio-ritual interaction among the members of Mapuche society.

d) To communicate to the musicians and ritual dancers (**choiquepurrufes**) that they must prepare themselves for their participation in the nguillatun.

In the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971, the chiefs of lesser rank carried out the functions that I will now analyze:

a) They, along with the ngenpin and his helpers, formed the official group of prayers/orators of the ritual. This function transformed those civil chiefs into religious chiefs; that is, into intermediaries between their people and Ngenechen. Thus, those **lonkos** summarized in themselves the socio-political structure and the system of beliefs of Mapuche society (see Figure 76).

b) The chiefs of lesser rank who helped Pascual Ñancuvilu were four: two located beside the **ngenpin** (south) and two located beside the interpreter (north). The number of helpers of the high priest of the **nguillatun** revitalized the Mapuche divine tetranity (see Figure 42).

3.- Riders

The principal activity of the riders is the **awun** or **trilla**. It consists in circling the place, person, or object that the Mapuches wish to honor. With respect to this practice, Moesbach affirms that the awun "is the highest distinction with which the indigenous (Mapuches) honor persons or things" (1973:295).

With the awun, the Mapuches materialized the following objectives:

a) To recognize their creator (Ngenechen) as a supreme being (Alonqueo, 1985:79).

b) To scare away the bad spirits or other beings extraneous to the place in which the nguillatun is realized (Tripailaf, 1948:15).

c) To honor distinguished Mapuches (Alonqueo, 1985:79).

d) To honor the place in which a parley develops (Ruíz Aldea, 1902:72).

The awun is performed on the following occasions:

- in nguillatuns.
- in solemn receptions.
- in parleys.
- in **machitun** or rituals realized by the **machi** to cure an ill person.
- in funerals (**eluwn**).

In the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971, the awun was realized in four stages:

a) **Initiation**. Upon commencing the awun, those who guided the rest of the riders took the flags of the nguillatun from their location at the altar.

b) **Realization**. The riders circled the ceremonial ground around the exterior limit (see Figure 42).

c) **Prayer / petition to Ngenechen**. After circling the spiritual place, the riders moved towards the rising sun (east). They stopped, removed their hats, and with a profound spiritual devotion implored/prayed to Chao Dios.

d) **Finalization**. Once their prayer was finished, the riders returned to the **nguillatuwe**, replaced the flags at the altar, and returned to the position they occupied at the beginning of the nguillatun; that is, at the posterior/exterior part of the ceremonial ground "looking" towards the Villarrica volcano at the tacit axial axis that unites east with west.

The performance of the awun is the culminating moment of the nguillatun. When the riders initiated their movements circling the nguillatuwe, the ritual dancers, the musicians, and all the attendants commence to dance, sing, pray, and clamor to Ngenechen for help. Thus, with the awun of the riders, the ritual of the nguillatun, with which the Mapuche society revitalizes cyclic socio-ritual interactions among its members, strengthening at the same time its union with the environment and with its deity, reaches its maximum religious value (5).

4.- Musicians

The principal musical instruments that objectified the music in the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971 were four **kultrunes**, three **pifilkas**, and three **trutrukas**. The kultrunes were played by the **machis** and the **ngenpin**; the pifilkas and the trutrukas, by Mapuche men.

In the mentioned nguillatun, the musicians carried out the following functions:

a) They materialized the rhythmic and melodic basis of songs and dances with which they united all the participants in the ritual.

b) In the hands of the musicians, the biocosmological elements: horse intestines, sheep skins, ox-horns, and plants, used in the manufacture of musical instruments, acquired all their spiritual and religious value with which they strengthened the environment/Mapuche/Ngenechen union.

c) They made tangible the presence of Chao Dios as the divine Mapuche tetranity. In each performance, the orchestra was always composed of eight musicians. The number of pifilkas and trutrukas was variable, but the four kultrunes that objectified the rhythm of the music constituted the constant number of the octet.

d) With their musical performance, the musicians provided moments of recreation and entertainment to all the attendants to the **nguillatun**.

5.- The attendants to the ritual

The members of the Mapuche **reducción** organizing the nguillatun and of the reducciones invited to the ritual have two essential tasks to perform: to prepare the meals and beverages that will be consumed in the nguillatun, and to participate actively in that collective ceremony.

The day of the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971 was initiated with the arrival of the Mapuches at the spiritual place. Every family located itself outside the **nguillatuwe** or ceremonial ground behind the altar and "looking" towards the Villarrica volcano. Immediately, the Mapuche women built fires on which they prepared and/or heated the food that was served in the nguillatun. This food, along with the beverages, was shared with other participants in the ritual (see Figure 42 and 45).

Men, women, and children attending the nguillatun constitute the physical, spiritual, religious, and psychological basis of the ritual. Each participant is a living and acting cultural unit which summarizes and objectifies traditional cultural values of Mapuche society. In this manner, the ethnicity and persistence of that society is ensured in the ritual of the nguillatun (Figure 46).

Social control

With the clear and firm purpose of attaining all the objectives for which the nguillatun is realized, Mapuche society has established a social control that is exercised by the machis and the guardians of the ritual. In the nguillatun, and to comply with the supreme mandate of the ancestral **admapu**, which is to obtain from Ngenechen the solution of the crisis that at that moment affects all the Mapuches, the machis and the guardians control and constantly reorient the functions, obligations, and activities of all the participants in the ritual.

In the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971, the machis strongly regulated the acceptance and materialization of all the social, political, and ritual rules proper to the ceremony. The **machis** exercised that control based on their "esoteric knowledge of the sacred codes and norms of Mapuche society" (Dillehay, 1983:142); and in their condition of being "Mapuches chosen by god." In this manner, the machis were empowered by Ngenechen to interpret and revitalize the ancestral admapu that enabled them to control the performance of the **lonkos** and of all the attendants. With respect to this function, Dillehay suggests that:

> "The ritual of the nguillatun is a social and spacial assertion of a controlling political idea that provides a model, an image of the ancestral experience through which the ethereal ancestors - mediums through the machis - shape and impose onto people a particular approximation to their own experiences. Therefore, the vital experience of Mapuche ancestors is paradigmatic of the economic and social order in life. The machis declare that which

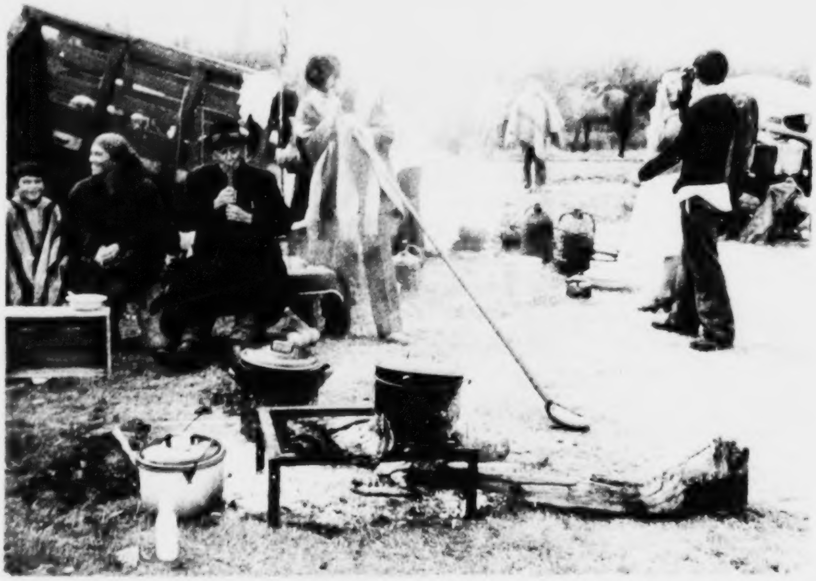


Figure 45. A moment of rest in a **nguillatun** in Pircunche (province of Cautín, Chile). In the foreground: the fire, roast meat, and pots filled with food. In the middle ground: the author playing the **trutruka** (Mapuche musical instrument) among the attendants to the nguillatun. Farther back, one can observe pots with **muday**. Food and beverages are shared among the participants of the nguillatun as a form of "socialized communion." (Photograph by Hortensia Plaza Meléndez, 1977).

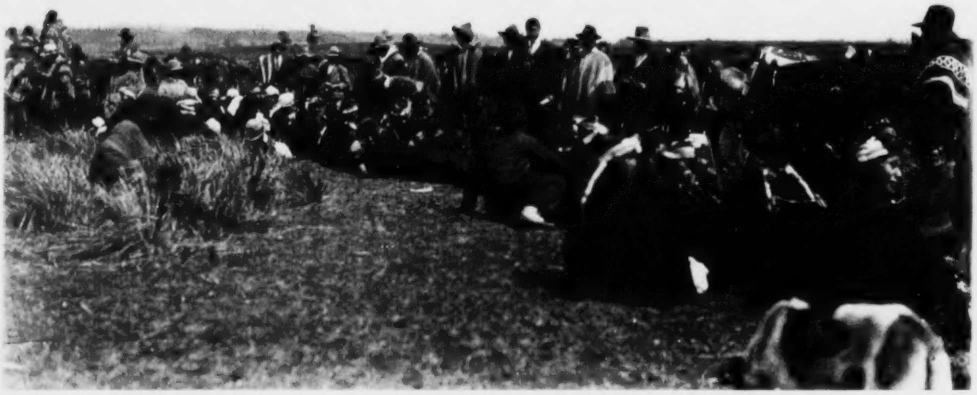


Figure 46. A moment of rest in a **nguillatun** in Quechucahuin (province of Cautín, Chile). **Mapudungun**, religion, and Mapuche ethnicity are objectified and revitalized in the nguillatun, whose axial point is **Ngenechen**. In this form, the cultural values of the Mapuche society are lived by all the participants in the ritual.
(Photograph by Roberto Sommer, 1932).

> is reflected in the ethereal ancestral order, the eternal and timeless experience of the admapu, in which all the Mapuches should search for the model of their lives. Thus, in this sense, the ceremony of the nguillatun is the hidden guiding force of the political in the Mapuche society of today."
>
> Dillehay, 1983:151.

In the **nguillatun** "Mono Paine" 1971, the ngenpin designated two guardians to whom he imparted precise orders which were executed promptly and with severity. Those orders were summarized in the functions of those guardians, functions that Mapuche author Domingo Tripailaf has so accurately summarized (1948). Tripailaf sustains that the tasks of the guardians or **sarkento-condna** (as he denominates them) are:

> "a) To maintain order and avoid all that is extraneous to the ritual (see Figure 74).
>
> b) To receive and care for all that the attendants bring as an offering and contribution to the nguillatun (food, beverages, live animals).
>
> c) To maintain the bonfires and to keep a close watch upon the cooking of foods.
>
> d) To force all the attendants to participate in the dances."
>
> Tripailaf, 1948:15.

The fifth function of the guardians of the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971 was carried out with great rigor, I "lived" personally as an active participant in that ritual. During the development of the nguillatun, one of the guardians approached me and told me in a respectful and, at the same time, authoritative tone: "You must speak only in Mapudungun; that which you do not know how to say in the Mapuche language, say it in Spanish, but in low voice." This experience reflects the vital function of the guardians of revitalizing the Mapuche language as the sacred nexus among all the participants in the ritual and among themselves and their deity. In other words, the verbal communication used in that ceremony objectified one of the Mapuche ancestral axial values that has defined them as a persistent society: **Mapudungun**.

In the **nguillatun**, the social control exercised by the **machis** and guardians is directly related to the success of the ceremony. The result is that all the attendants yearn for the realization of the ritual; that is, to be heard by Chao Dios, to obtain in this way the response/solution of the deity to all the problems that at that moment affect the Mapuches. The result depends on the correct cultural performance of each of the participants. This performance is cemented in the ordaining, acceptance, regulation, and realization of all the social, political, and religious norms that impose the traditional Mapuche cultural values (**admapu**). Thus, in the nguillatun, the living experience of the ancestral admapu defines and determines the power of the machis and guardians.

Notes

1.- Martín Alonqueo Piutrín (whom I knew personally and whose knowledge of the Mapuche culture he shared with me on several occasions) was a worthy representative of his own people: the Mapuche people. As a professor and leader, Alonqueo had a clear and firm objective: to elevate the socio-economic, cultural, and moral level of the Mapuches, a purpose that oriented all the investigations he realized referring to his own cultural tradition. The press and editorial "San Francisco" (Padre Las Casas, province of Cautín) published his book "Mapuche. Ayer-Hoy" (1985) in which Alonqueo provides us with the result of his experiences as a Mapuche.

2.- For a better understanding of the way in which the Mapuches make **muday**, I recommend a review of the works of Smith, "The Araucanians; or, Notes of a Tour among the Indians Tribes of Southern Chili" (1855:302-4); Joseph, "La Vivienda Araucana" (1931:47-50); Wood, "The Uncivilized Races, or Natural History of Man." Volume II (1870:558); Hilger, "Huenun Ñamku. An Araucanian Indian of the Andes Remembers the Past" (1966:73).

3.- For information concerning the morphology and phonology of the Mapuche language, I suggest analyzing and listening to the work of Adalberto Salas, "Textos Orales en Mapuche o Araucano del Centro-Sur de Chile", Colección Lenguas Vernáculas de Chile, No. 1. Editorial de la Universidad de Concepción, Chile, 1984.

According to Salas, the fundamental objective of those texts is to serve as a general presentation of the structure of Mapudungun. The voice is that of Mapuche professor Manuel Panguilef Loncomil Coñuenao. The tape recording includes vocabulary, verb forms, two traditional stories, a factual narrative, and three riddles.

4.- To those interested in obtaining more information about the importance of Mapuche oratory during the Araucanía/España war, I suggest reviewing the work of Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, "Cautiverio feliz y razón individual de las guerras dilatadas del Reino de Chile" (the manuscript of the author dates from the year 1673). In chapter X (1973:37-42), Pineda y Bascuñán relates the experience he lived upon observing the sacrifice of a Spanish prisoner in the hands of the Mapuche army. In this sacrifice, Mapuche chief Putapichun gave a speech in which he vigorously stressed the essential objective that at that moment united all the Araucanian warriors: to expel the Spanish from Mapuche land. The oratory used by Putapichun carried out a double function: to exacerbate the combat spirit of all present, as well as to reinforce the decision to continue fighting against the conquistadores.

5.- Titiev provides us with interesting antecedents about the **awun** or **awn**, as he denominates it, in his work "Araucanian culture in transition" pp. 134-5 (1951).

CHAPTER 5

SYMBOLOGY OF THE NGUILLATUN

Axiomatic symbol and integral symbol

An axiomatic symbol objectifies a system of communication based upon:

a) The empirical experience that the members of a particular society have systematized in the daily man/environment interaction. In this interaction, the essential attributes of nature - sun, moon, climate, clouds, rain, rainbow, flora, fauna, and cosmic elements (planets, stars, constellations) - have "life of their own" in bi- or tri-dimensional representations that the members of a society have graphed and established through artistic expressions.

b) Cultural values inherent in a defined society. Thus, the sensible form of an axiomatic symbol reinforces and preserves the cultural identity of that society. The essential characteristic of the axiomatic symbol is its pattern or structure (suprasumativity); that is, the intimate relation/interconnection among its integral parts which form a harmonious whole. This harmonious whole is understood / accepted by all the members of a human group and reactualized cyclically through precise rituals.

The fundamental characteristics of the axiomatic symbol are:

1. It constitutes a definitive truth.
2. It is persistent.
3. It unites all the members of a society.
4. In a system of beliefs, it constitutes the nexus between the natural and supernatural world.

In a defined system of beliefs, the axiomatic symbol requires the integral symbol to strengthen its level of importance. The integral symbol is a sub-unit of communication integrated into the axiomatic symbol. Its functions are:

1. To strengthen the axiomatic symbol/society interaction.
2. To reinforce the psycho/social message of the axiomatic symbol.
3. In specified rituals, to unite two or more axiomatic symbols with the purpose of establishing a more ample unit of communication.
4. In the rites that some societies realize to establish communication with the supernatural world, to reorient the focus of interest towards the (mediate/immediate) objectives to be accomplished.

In the **nguillatun**, the Mapuche society utilizes axiomatic symbols and integral symbols as objective projections of persistence and monotheism, values which define this society. Thus, the mentioned cultural values, united with cosmology and Mapudungun, form the existential basis of the Mapuche people.

With the purpose of understanding and emphasizing the value of the importance of axiomatic symbols that defined the "Mono Paine" nguillatun 1971, I will analyze those symbols, based upon my personal experience as an active participant in that ritual. It is necessary to remember that some of the axiomatic symbols objectified in that nguillatun such as the sky, the volcano, the cardinal points, the **machi**, and the **kultrun**, have been previously studied by ethnographers or other scholars.

The altar of the "Mono Paine" nguillatun 1971

The altar of the **nguillatuwe** in which the "Mono Paine" **nguillatun** was carried out was the material axis that centralized all the ritual activity. This altar was objectified by chemamull, flags, and "sacred" plants.

The chemamull (carved figure)

The Mapuches developed a sculptural art which, cemented in its own cultural values, constituted a response to their spiritual and social needs. One of the spiritual needs was the conception of the prolongation of daily life beyond death; in other words, the Mapuches considered death as one more phase of terrestrial life. According to Mapuche thought, the dead should always be present, a presence that the sculptors of that society moulded in a "portrait of the dead." Joseph (1931) sustains that this portrait is designated in Mapudungun as **chemanlayi**: anthropomorphic wooden sculptures "planted on graves, called **chemamull** or wooden people in certain Mapuche **reducciones**" (Joseph, 1931:85). Thus, and due to its sculptural representation, the dead person was transformed into a "corporeal ancestor" with whom the Mapuches could establish a more concrete communication, through which the mythic/ritual nexus between the dead and living was revitalized, uniting more closely the natural and supernatural world.

In the past, travellers and scholars of the Mapuche culture registered their personal interpretations of the anthropomorphic sculptures (chemamull) in ancient Mapuche cemeteries. Smith (1855) affirms that in the region bounded by the rivers Cholchol and Cautín there existed several cemeteries. In one of them, he observed:

> "The burial place of some departed hero and eight or ten wives. Over each grave was planted an upright log, ten or twelve feet high, rudely carved to represent the human frame. The chief stood in the centre of the group with no other clothing than a hat and a sword, while on either hand were ranged the wives 'in puris naturalibus.' However the sculptor may have fallen short in other respects, he had succeeded admirably in distinguishing the sexes, which seems to have been his principal aim.
>
> These were the only carved representations of the human figure that we met among the Mapuches. Smith, 1855:290, 308-9.

In 1896 Verniory observed in an abandoned Mapuche cemetery (located between the Cautín and Quepe rivers) a:

> "Funeral monument made from an enormous block of roble wood (*Nothofagus obliqua*) crudely sculpted and planted on the land. It vaguely represents the figure of a man whose great round head is crowned by a type of top hat."
>
> Verniory, 1975:414.

In 1968, I met Lilette de Sommer, who kindly offered to me a photograph of an ancient Mapuche cemetery which her husband took in 1900 in the surroundings of the city of Temuco, province of Cautín (Figure 47). In this photograph anthropomorphic sculptures, **machi** crosses, and Latin crosses can be observed. It is necessary to point out that this cemetery was one of the last necropoli that contained a great number of Mapuche graves. These great cemeteries "without fences" disappeared, due principally to the implementation of the **reducción** system that the government of president José Joaquín Pérez Mascayano (1861-71), member of the National Party, imposed by force upon Mapuche society. In 1868, the government of Pérez dictated the law that regulated the distribution of Mapuche land into "**reducciones**." Through this law "no restriction against selling these plots" was decreed (McBride, 1936:292). Later, during the government of Liberal president Domingo Santa María González (1881-86), and once the "pacification of the Araucanía" was finalized, the colonization of Mapuche land gave the finishing touch to the end of the existence of the great collective Mapuche cemeteries. At present, the majority of the ancient cemeteries are in the subsoil of the land that was surrendered to the European settlers. With relation to this problem of the ownership and distribution of the sacred Mapuche land, it is important to remember the words of Huenun Ñamku, who, in a conversation with Hilger, affirms with sadness:

> "My grandparents were buried in Anacomoi; so was my mother. The place is now a **fundo**, and their burial place is a wheat field, but I know where their graves are."
>
> Hilger, 1966:113.

The disappearance of the great cemeteries, the relocation of the Mapuche people into reducciones, the population increase, and the imposition of an economy immersed in the capitalist system the Mapuches were forced to accept, are the fundamental causes that obliged this society to rethink and restructure their system of beliefs. Thus, the chemamull, one of the tangible bases of the cosmology of this people, was taken outside the cemetery and located as altar of the great collective ceremonies or nguillatun. In this manner, the Mapuche cosmology resisted once more the pressure of the dominating society that tries to "absorb the Mapuche people and destroy their formative roots" (Castro Gatica, 1976:25). In view of the strong influence of the great society of the west, the Mapuche sculptors continue to give life to the chemamull, a sculpture whose vital function is that of representing the spirits of the ancestors (Figure 48).

In the manufacture of the chemamull, Ngenechen, as the Mapuche tetranity, is always "present." To demonstrate, I will describe the creation of a chemamull in the Mariqueo reducción, located in Roble Huacho (southeast of Temuco, province of Cautín). In 1976, under the supervision of **cacique** Carlos Huentemil Mariqueo, two Mapuche sculptors gave life to a new chemamull that replaced one of the two that existed in the **nguillatuwe** of Roble Huacho. This artistic/ritual activity lasted four days. Once the sculpture was finished, the chemamull was given four days of "repose," leaving it horizontally on the ground; with the head towards the rising sun; its face to the sun, moon, the stars, and space (Figure 49). At the end of the eight ritual days, a great nguillatun of two days' duration was realized in which this new "wooden being" occupied its axial place in the nguillatuwe.

At present, and as a wooden entity that defies the **winka** society, the "Mono Paine" or "Sky-blue Man" is one of the most representative **chemamull** the Mapuches have preserved as a sensible and immovable attribute of their system of beliefs. Sculptor Juan Vásquez Ordenes and Alberto Ñancuvilu sculpted the "Mono Paine" in the year 1948. This sculpture was situated in the place that it occupies today during the development of a great **nguillatun** in which animals (horses, lambs) and fowl were sacrificed. The principal beverage was the **muday**, in whose preparation all the concurrents to the ceremony participated. This muday is made with chewed maize (biocosmology) so that **Chao Ngenechen** may recognize who of Mapuche is good and who is bad (Figure 50).

Through a process of social adaptation, and without abandoning their own cultural identity, the Mapuches centralized in the **chemamull** the following functions:

1.- Altar of the **nguillatuwe** (ceremonial ground) or spiritual place where the nguillatun is performed.

2.- Protector of the spirits of the dead (Figure 51).

3.- Protector of the fertility of animals (Figure 52).

4.- Provider of "good luck" (prosperity) to the Mapuches in all commercial transactions they must practice in the present system of cash economy in which they are involved. The Mapuche who must initiate some business (purchase / sale of goods, animals, etc.) directs himself to the chemamull to ask him for success in that which he will undertake. When the undertaken commercial activity has been favorable, this Mapuche "visits the chemamull to pay him," which he does with coin currency (leaving it in the interstices of the body of the sculpture), or with agricultural products (fruits, cereals, etc.) (Figures 53 and 54).

In the past, Mapuche cemeteries had a double function. First, the cemetery or **eltun** was the ritual/spiritual place from which the dead commenced the journey towards "the other side of the sea." The second function of the cemetery was expressed in the portraits of the dead, or the wooden sculptures (chemamull) which represented the ancestors whom the Mapuches have always venerated and remembered. This function constitutes one of the cultural values that Mapuche society has guarded and valued until the present. Upon transforming the chemamull into the center of mythic/ritual activity, that is, into the altar of the nguillatun, the Mapuches "cornered in the **reducciones**" continue to preserve and revitalize the cult of the ancestors, thus ensuring the ethnicity and persistence that characterized this people. With respect to this point, Faron affirms that Mapuche beliefs:

> "Have withstood the test of time, remaining relatively unchanged during more than 400 years of contact with whites and formal missionization. These beliefs, and the rituals associated with them, provide the Mapuche with a formidable bastion against radical cultural and social change, and serve to sanction the traditional way of life."
>
> Faron, 1968:63.

Flags of the nguillatun

With the purpose of periodically reinforcing the vital cycle, the Mapuches have given the nguillatun the basic function of perpetuating the man / environment equilibrium. The existence and transcendency of the Mapuche people are based on the conception and institutionalization of a system of beliefs that permits this society to maintain the mentioned equilibrium. To objectify this equilibrium and to make it perennial and more comprehensible to all the members of this human group, the ancestors of the Mapuches abstracted and graphed the fundamental attributes of nature in specified

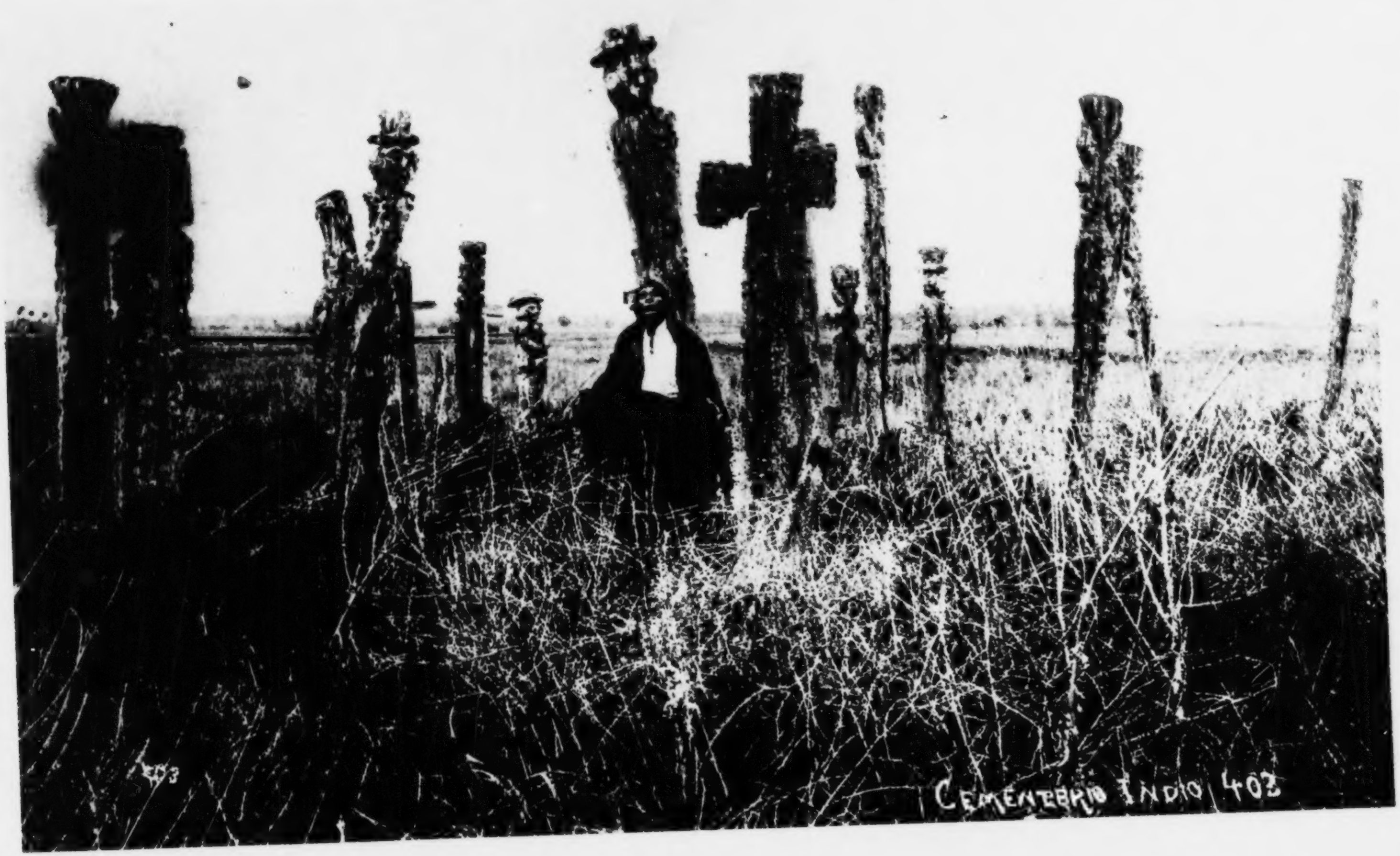


Figure 47. Mapuche cemetery (**eltun**) (Temuco, province of Cautín, Chile). In this cemetery, without physical boundaries, portraits of the dead (**chemanlayi** or **chemamull**), machi crosses, and Latin crosses can be observed. (Photograph by Roberto Sommer, 1900).

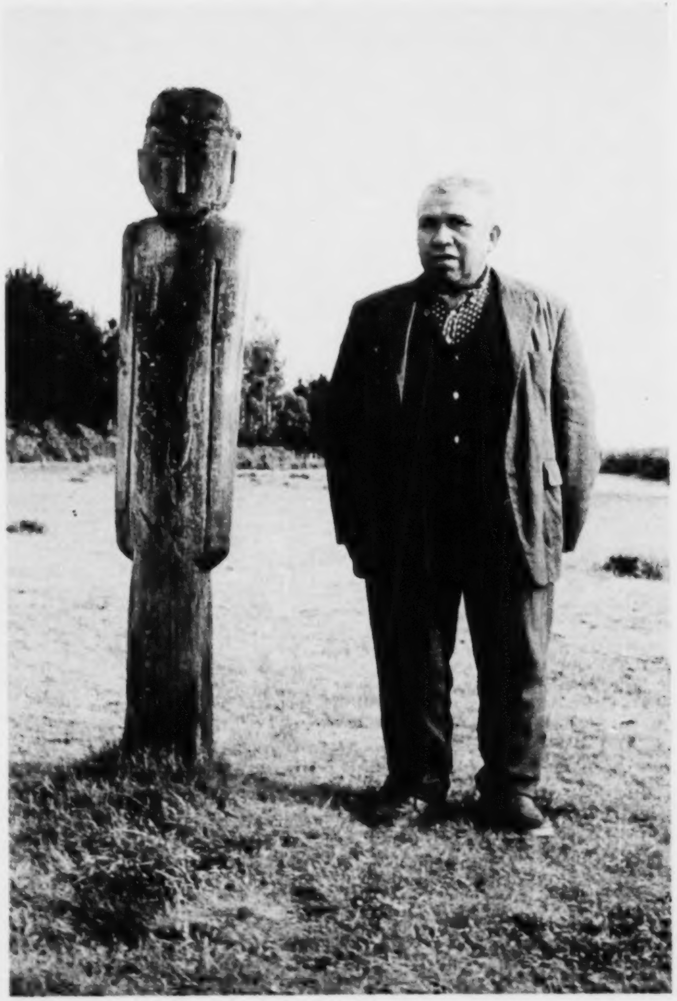


Figure 48. Mapuche sculptor Segundo Rain beside his sculpture (**chemamull**). Chomio, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by the author, 1978).

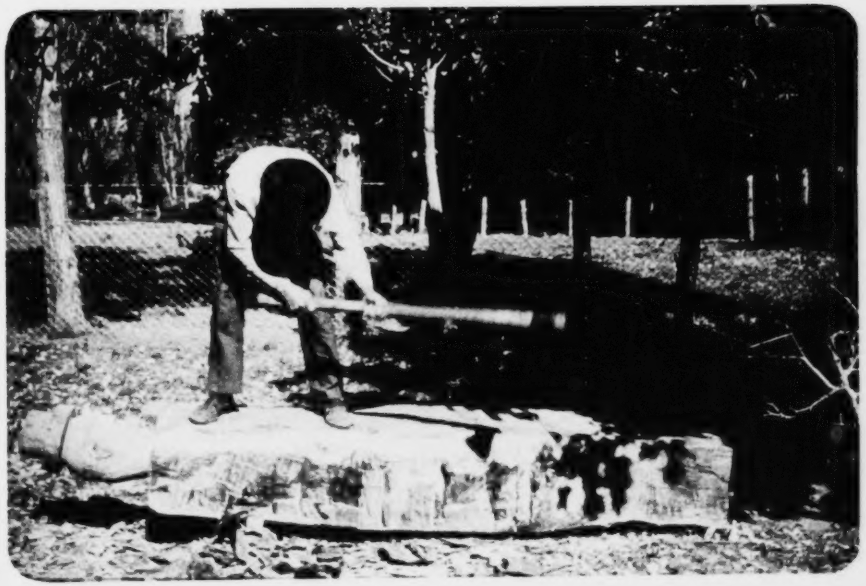
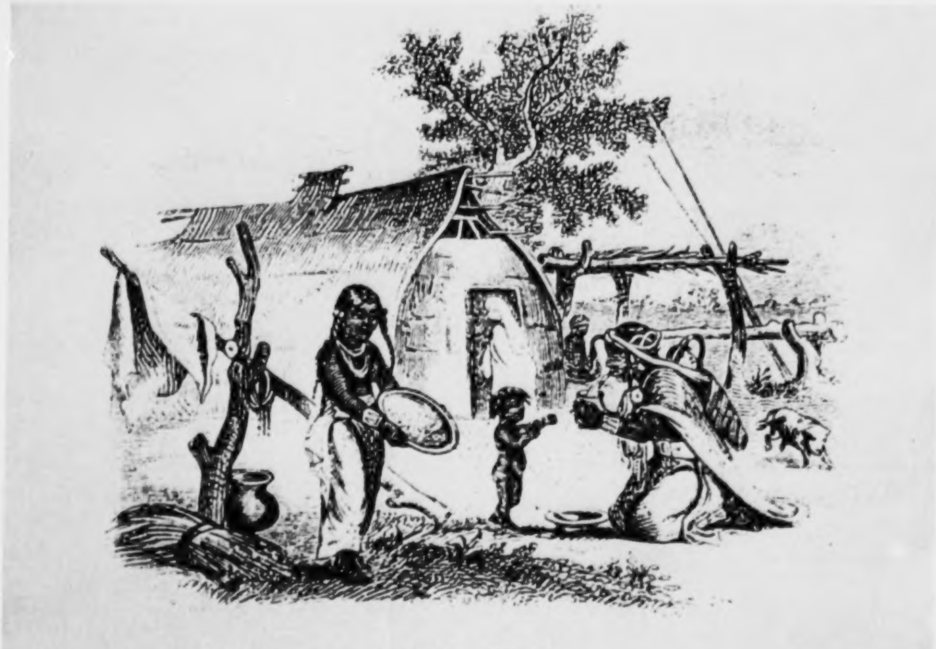


Figure 49. Sculpting a **chemamull**. Roble Huacho, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by the author, 1976).



MAKING MUDAI.

Figure 50. Preparations for the **nguillatun**. Making chewed **muday**. In this scene obtained by Smith (1855:303), one can observe a Mapuche woman at the moment of spitting the previously chewed wheat into a jar (biocosmology).

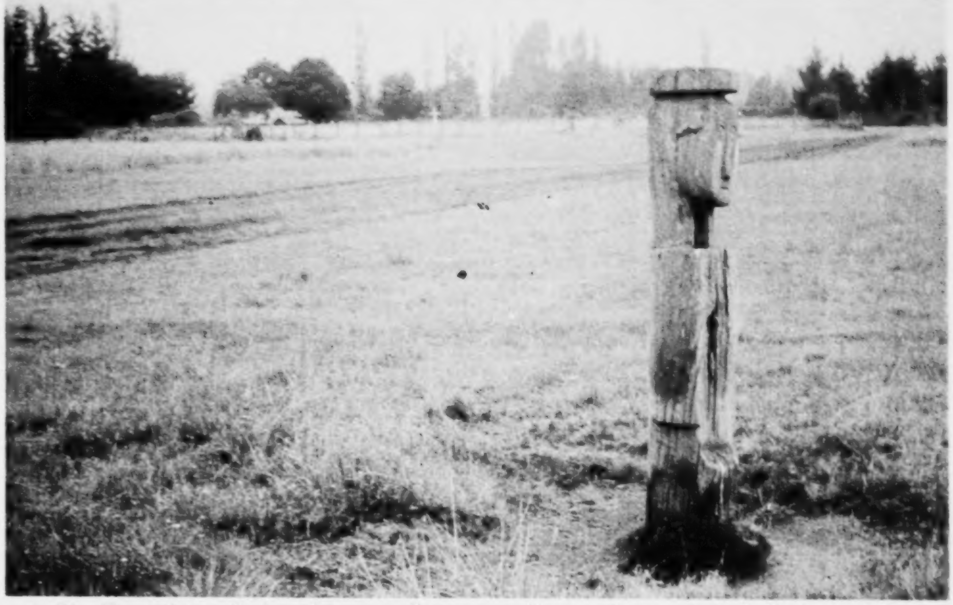


Figure 51. Function of the **chemamull** as guardian and protector of the spirits of the dead. This chemamull, located in Prado Huichahue (southeast of Temuco, province of Cautín, Chile), is kneeling in front of a Mapuche cemetery, praying to Ngenechen for the dead with the purpose of protecting them from evil spirits.
(Photograph by the author, 1976).

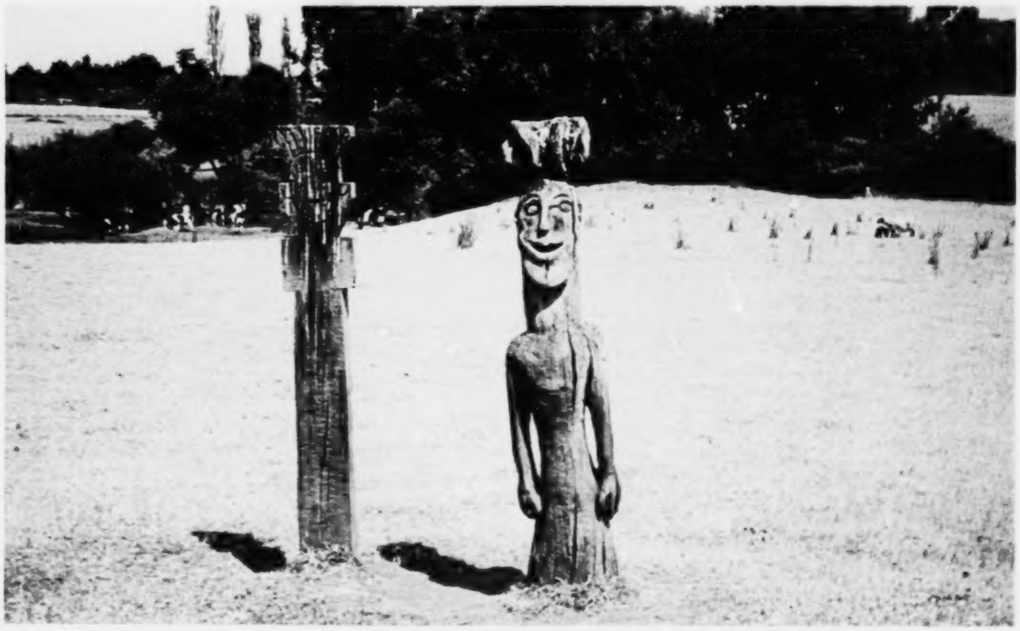


Figure 52. Function of the **chemamull** as protector of the life and reproduction of animals. This function is objectified in the cows and sheep that can be observed in the background which, upon grazing near this altar, receive from these wooden beings the energy and the power to ensure the continuity of the species.
Lleupeco, province of Cautín, Chile.
(Photograph by the author, 1976).

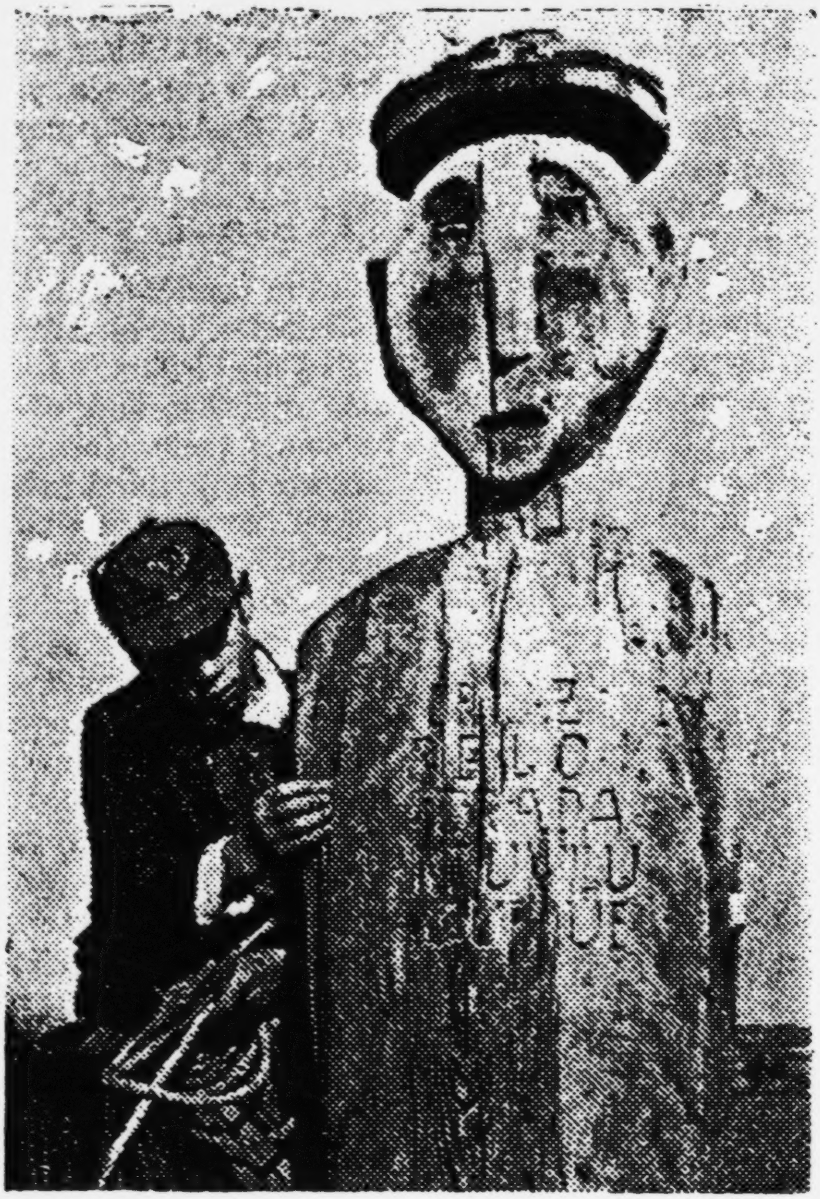


Figure 53. **Chemamull** "Mono Paine" (Maquehue, province of Cautín, Chile). Paying "Mono Paine."
(Noggler, 1982:46).

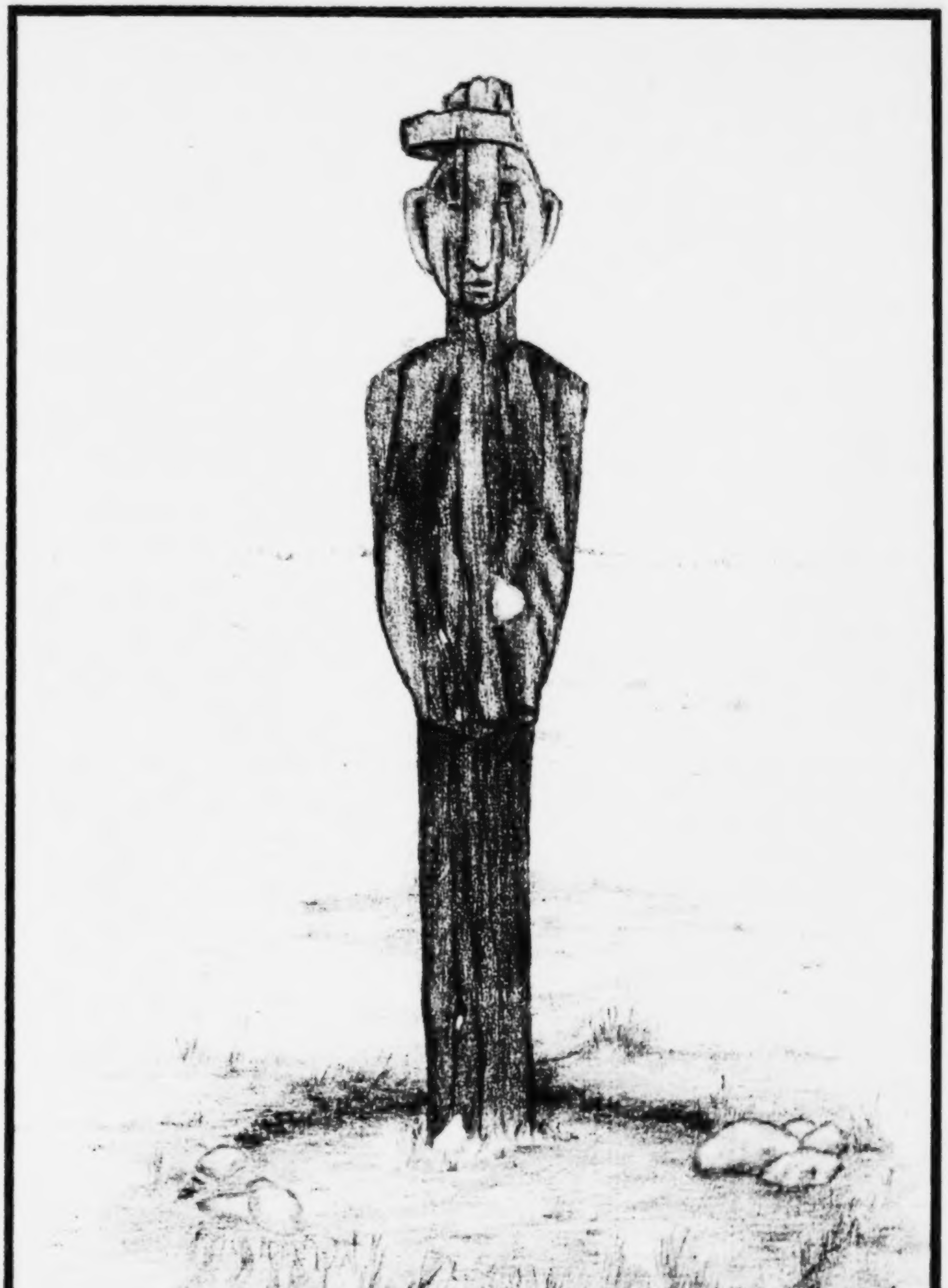


Figure 54. **Chemamull** "Mono Paine" (Maquehue, province of Cautín, Chile). As a result of "payments" previously offered, two pears and coins can be observed in the front part of the chemamull.
(Drawing by the author, 1988).

flags used in the nguillatun. Thus, the sun, the moon, the climate, and the green blood of nature, that is, the flora, nurtures Mapuche life; and appear symbolically represented in said flags.

For the realization of the nguillatun, the chemamull must be "dressed" with sacred plants (biocosmology) and flags. As one of the symbols of the nguillatun, the flag represents a unity of intention that unites all the participants in the ritual. The colors and designs of the flags graph the petitions the Mapuches formulate to Ngenechen. As a chromatic/ritual synthesis of the nguillatun, the color/petition is summarized in the following manner:

Flag	**Symbology**
Blue	Clean sky. Good weather.
White	Clouds bearing little water. Temperate weather.
Black	Rain.
Green	The grass. The plants.
Red	Heat. Sun. Ripening of grains.
Yellow	This flag is used as a petition to Ngenechen so that he may appease the land (after an earthquake).

According to the preceding schema, and having present the characteristics of creation and relation that characterize Mapuche psychology (aspects previously analyzed upon referring to Mapudungun), the Mapuches combine colors and flag motifs to manufacture those adequate to the needs of the moment. In other words, in every nguillatun one can observe flags that define the petition or prayer the Mapuches make to their divinity. In this manner, and when the situation requires it, the Mapuches redesign flags with the purpose of formulating precise petitions of Ngenechen. The following synthesis clarifies this assertion:

Flag	**Symbology**
White/Black (Black/White)	Not "much" rain.
Blue/White (White/Blue)	Temperate weather.
Red/Green	Sun. Heat. The plants. Flag used in a **nguillatun** which is carried out before the harvest. With this flag, heat for the adequate ripening of wheat, oats, maize, fruits, and all those agricultural products necessary for the survival of the Mapuches is asked of Ngenechen.

The preceding interpretation is applicable to the "Mono Paine" nguillatun 1971. It is useful to reiterate here some of my observations:

The first activity realized by the **ngenpin** Pascual Ñancuvilu in the first day of that nguillatun was to direct himself to the **chemamull** located at the centre of the ceremonial ground of circular shape. Having arrived at the nguillatuwe, Ñancuvilu "dressed" the "Mono Paine" with a blue/white flag (color/petition that structured and oriented that nguillatun) and a small branch of **canelo** (*Drimys winteri*) (Figures 55 and 56). Having finished this rite, the Mapuche high priest established the first contact with Ngenechen. In this "conversation" with the Mapuche divinity, Ñancuvilu communicated to Chao Dios that the nguillatun was done to honor the deity and to ask for adequate weather for the harvests, abundance of domestic animals and agricultural products, peace, comprehension and harmony among the members of Mapuche society; in short, fertility of the land and a clear and firm social interaction among the Mapuches. Later, the Mapuche **reducciones** of the Maquehue sector entered the

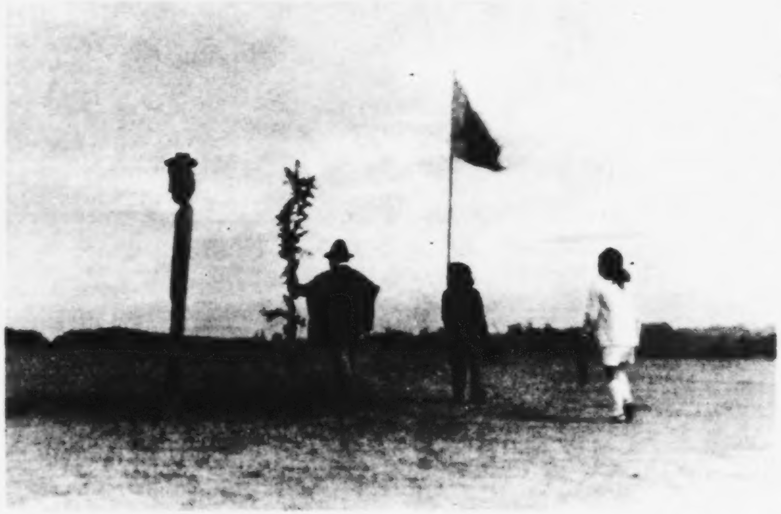


Figure 55. Preparations for the **nguillatun**. Day of the nguillatun "Mono Paine," 1971. First activity of the **ngenpin** Pascual Ñancuvilu. Pascual approaches the altar (**chemamull**) carrying a **canelo** (*Drimys winteri*) branch in his left hand; he is followed by his daughter who carries a blue-white flag and a **jarro-pato** (duck-shaped jar) with muday. The third person is Elicia Lemunao, dressed in white.
(Photograph by the author).

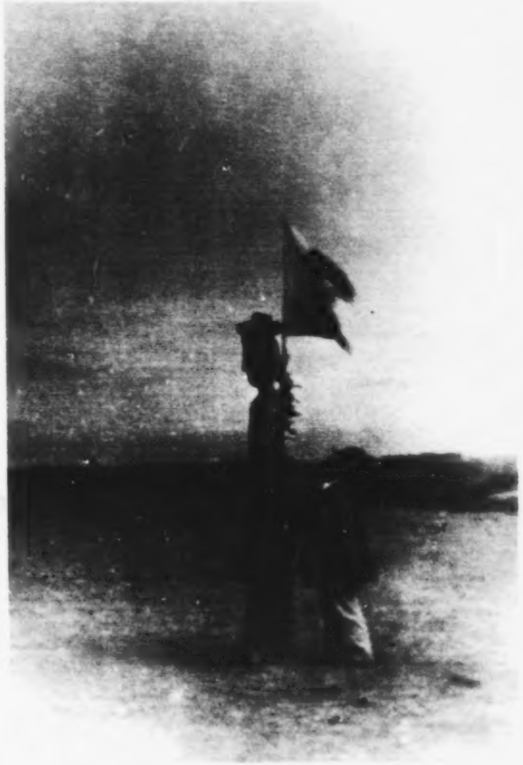


Figure 56. Preparations for the **nguillatun**. Day of the nguillatun "Mono Paine," 1971. Second activity of the **ngenpin**. Pascual Ñancuvilu "dressing" the chemamull with the canelo branch and ritual blue/white flag. (Photograph by the author).

spiritual place, each bringing a flag / petition and a sacred plant, objects that when placed "dressing" the chemamull, gave particular structure or pattern (suprasumativity) to the altar.

The colors of the flags constitute a chromatic "writing"; a symbolic system whose elements are colors the Mapuche divinity must interpret as precise formulas of petition/prayer. There exists a notable relation between flag/prayer and the word **wirintufe**, which means "person who writes" (**wirin** = to write). In the "Mono Paine" nguillatun 1971, two Mapuche men or wirintufes objectified the petitions to Ngenechen on the cheeks of each attendant to the ritual. For this purpose, a wirintufe placed the color white on the right cheek (south), and the other, the color blue on the left cheek (north) (Figure 57). It is necessary to remember that, besides constituting one of the axes of Mapuche cosmology, the cardinal points are the measure which orients the Mapuches in the comprehension of climatic variations that characterize Mapuche land. This belief is summarized in a popular proverb which says: "clear north, dark south: sure downpour (**Norte claro, Sur oscuro: aguacero seguro**)." In this manner, in the "Mono Paine" nguillatun the chromatic "writing" was directed to Ngenechen so as to ask the north to "permit" good weather. As this ritual was carried out in December, the Mapuches prayed to Ngenechen so that adequate weather to realize the harvest be conceded, an activity that is carried out between the months of January and March.

The flags used in the "Mono Paine" nguillatun 1971 demonstrate to us that the Mapuche people have the capacity of connecting the situations/problems which affect them with the solutions to be reached through communication with Chao Ngenechen. Thus, in this nguillatun black and white flags can also be observed, which, upon representing the petition of weather with "not much rain," catalyzed a possible drought that would have negatively influenced the normal development of Mapuche life. The colors of the attires of the riders who bore the flags, and the colors of the horses (biocosmology) that those riders mounted during the awun (circular run the riders realize around the nguillatuwe or ceremonial ground), widened and deepened the chromatic symbolism graphed in the flags (Figure 58). This situation was reinforced by the Mapuches upon personifying water as a woman mounted on a horse. During the development of the nguillatun, this woman or water spirit, called in Mapudungun **Amzumpal** or **Shompallwe**, was situated in the tacit axis that unites the altar with the East. As axiomatic symbol of the "Mono Paine" nguillatun 1971, Amzumpal focussed the petition of rain that the participants to this ritual made to Ngenemapun. The horse that Shompallwe mounted on that occasion was the biocosmological entity the Mapuches used to ask Ngenechen for temperate climate. When the situation requires the Mapuches to ask for rain of Ngenechen, the chromatic message will be based fundamentally on black and white (Figures 59 and 60).

As a structural (suprasumativistic) aspect of the altar, the flags of the nguillatun orient the activities of the ritual. In other words, the flags constitute the essential graphic communication through which the Mapuches show their divinity the problems/situations of danger that in a specific moment threaten the stability and continuity of Mapuche life.

Through the development of the nguillatun, the flags act as one more link in the union of Mapuche souls, spirits, and minds around a common objective: to establish a strong and defined communication with **Chao Dios**. As a conclusion, it is necessary to point out that the flag is one of the vital elements of the nguillatun that strengthens the existence and persistence of the Mapuche people, having at the same time an important role in the establishment of a cyclical Mapuche/Mapuche and Mapuche/nature/Ngenechen interaction.

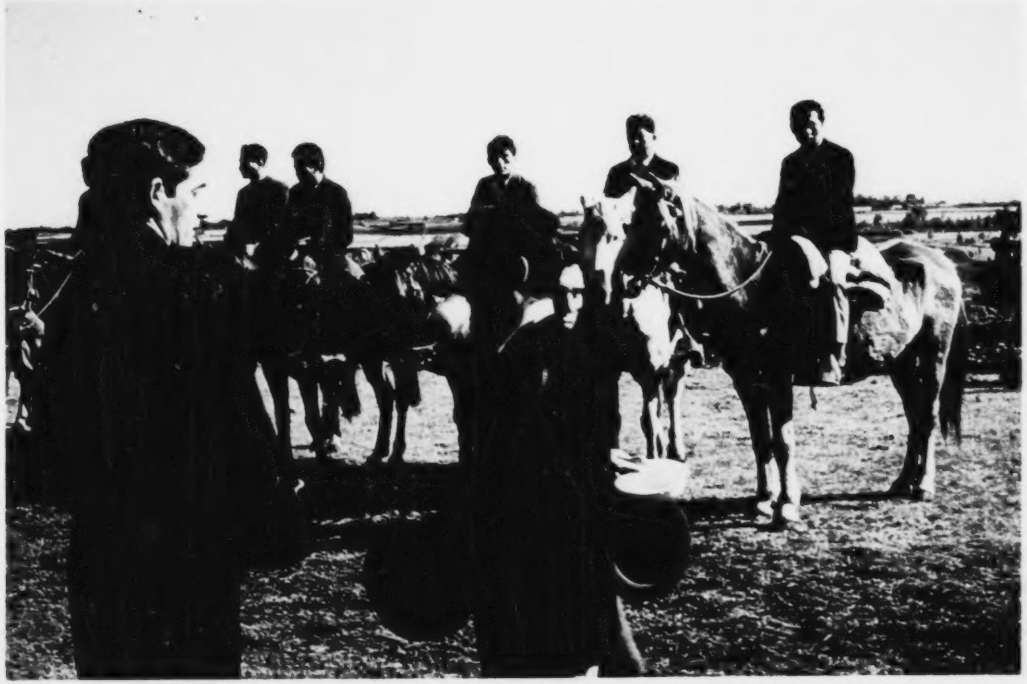


Figure 57. **Nguillatun** "Mono Paine," 1971. Chromatic writing. A **wirintufe** (a Mapuche man who writes) writing with blue pigment on the cheek of a participant the petition of good weather to **Ngenechen**. On a second plane, one can observe another wirintufe carrying in his hands "white writing" (clouds bearing little water). In the background, riders on horseback (note the white horse).
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1971).

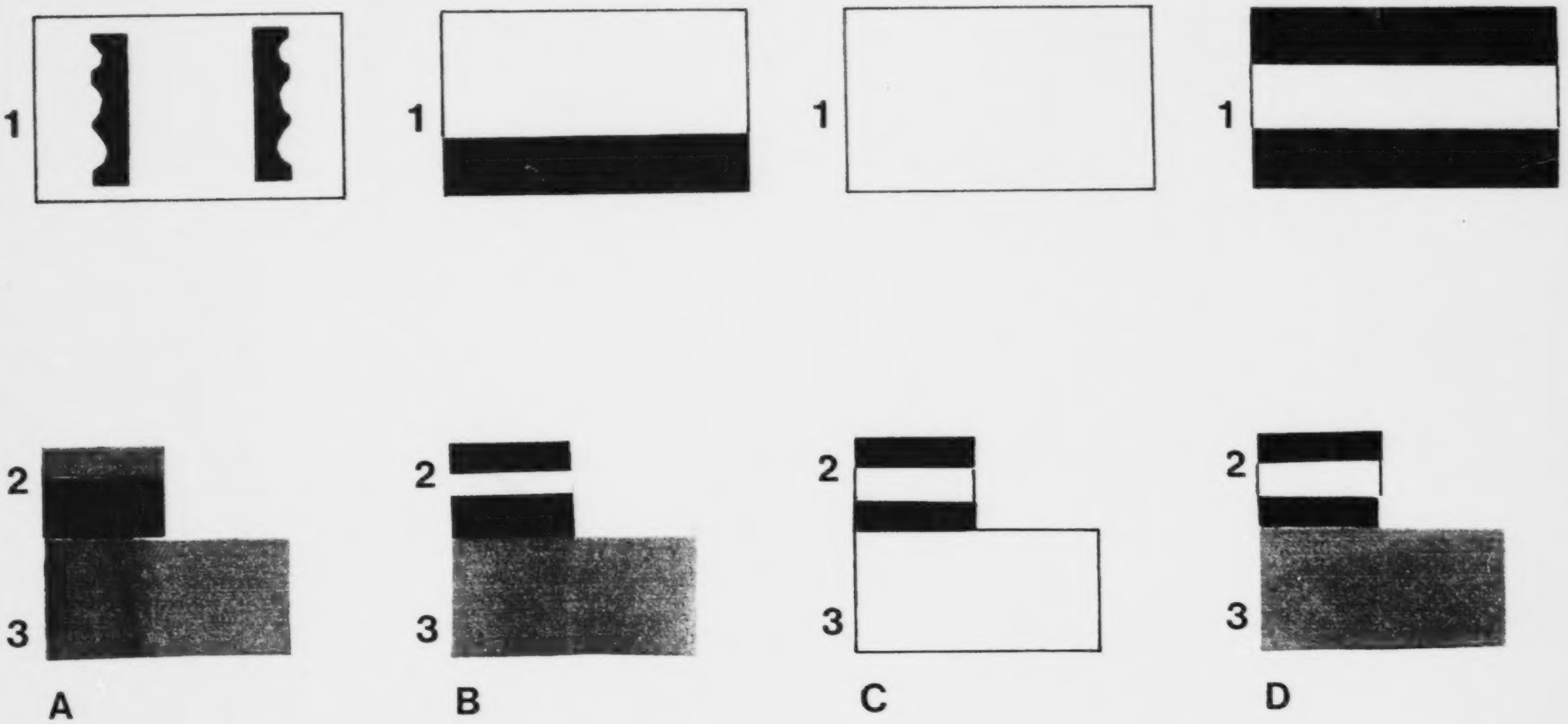


Figure 58. Flags in the **nguillatun** "Mono Paine," (Province of Cautín, Chile. 1971).
1.- Flag.
2.- Color of the attire of the rider carrying the flag.
3.- Color of the horse (biocosmology).
Symbology: A = Good weather, heat.
B = Temperate climate.
C = Rain.
D = "Mixed" weather (i.e. not "much" rain), moisture.
(Drawing by the author, 1988).

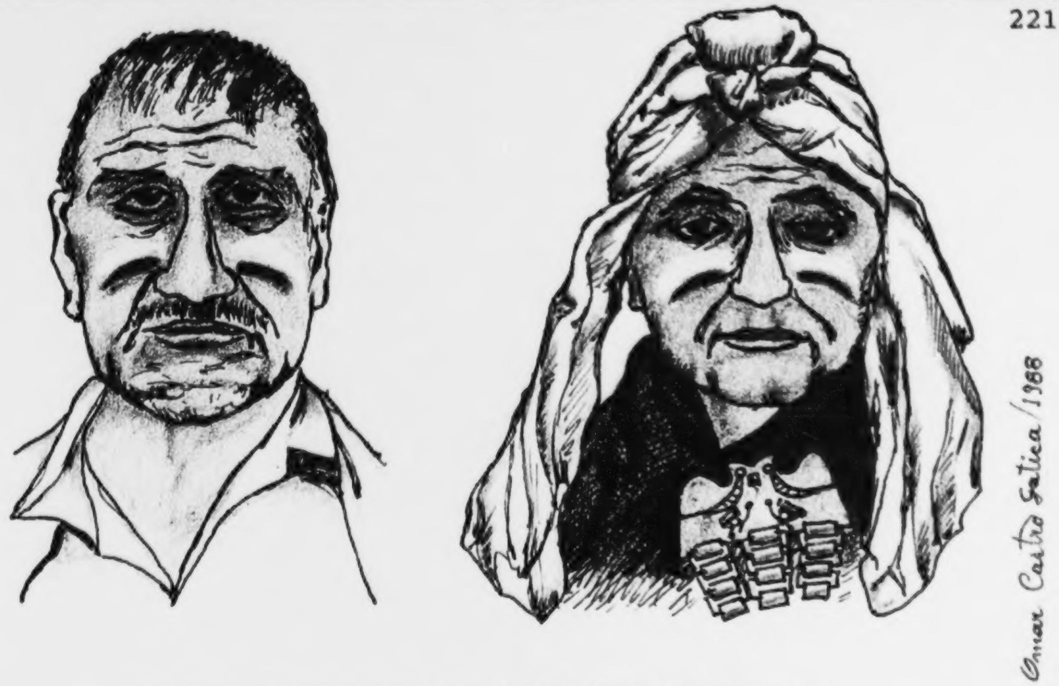
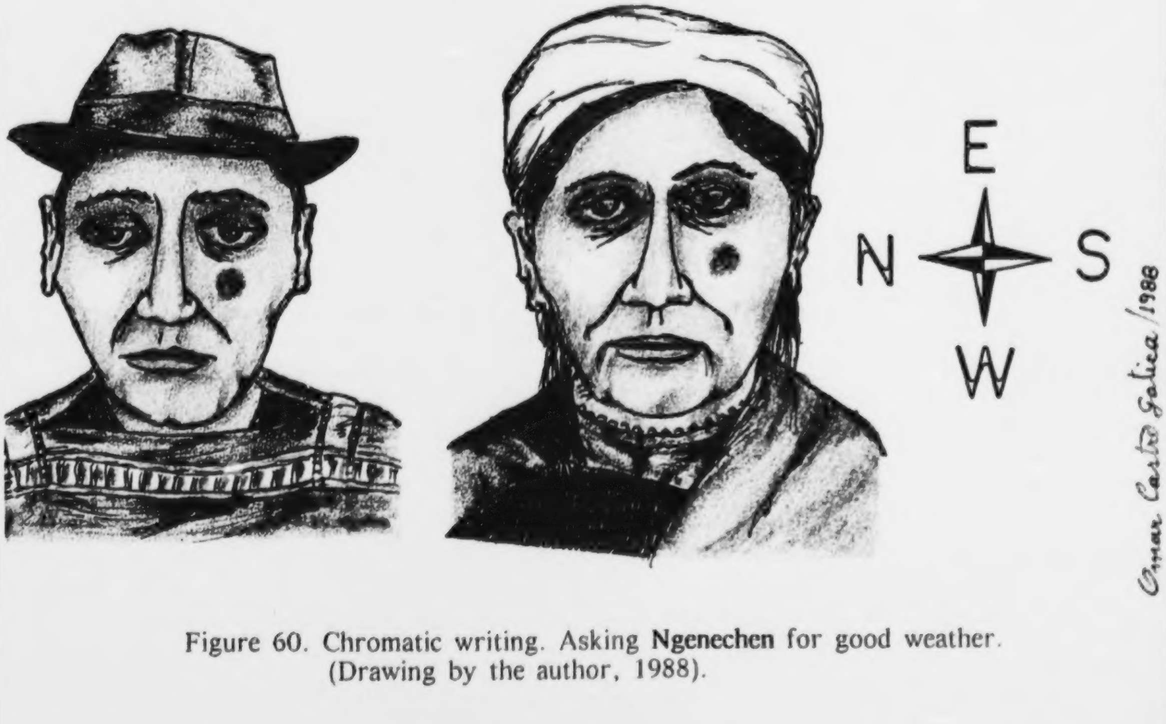

Omar Castro Gatica/1988

Figure 59. Chromatic writing. Asking **Ngenechen** for rain. (Drawing by the author, 1988).


E
N
S
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Omar Castro Gatica/1988

Figure 60. Chromatic writing. Asking **Ngenechen** for good weather. (Drawing by the author, 1988).

In summary, the chromatic message the Mapuches "showed" to Ngenechen was expressed in: human faces, Amzumpal or Shompalwe, attire of the attendants to the ritual, decoration of the kultrunes (Figure 61), color of the animals and birds, and in the flags.

Sacred plants

The **canelo** (*Drimys winteri*), **maqui** (*Aristotelia maqui*), **colihue** (*Chusquea coleu*), and the **manzano** (*Malus communis*) were the four sacred plants that formed part of the altar of the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971. Since ancient epochs, the canelo has been a fundamental element in Mapuche biocosmology. One of the scholars of Mapuche society that analyzed the importance of the canelo in the system of beliefs of that society was Molina. This scientist affirms that:

> "The Chileans call it **boighe** and the Spanish **canelo**. The **boighe** is to the Araucanians a sacred tree, and thus they always carry a branch in hand in all the ceremonies of their religion, as well as when they make peace, presenting it as a signal of friendship and alliance, as was done in the ancient world with the bough of the olive tree."
>
> Molina, 1978:38 (Figure 62) (1).

The interpretation of Molina is reinforced by diverse authors who also sustain that the canelo is the sacred tree of the Mapuches (Casamiquela, 1964:124; Castro Gatica, 1976:6; Joseph, 1931:21; Moesbach, 1973:88; Verniory, 1975:75). With respect to this point, Faron affirms that the altar of the nguillatun:

> "is either an old carved effigy post or simply a crotched tree trunk of recent origin. It is surrounded by boughs of trees which are considered sacred (cinnamon, apple, maqui)."
>
> Faron, 1968:101.

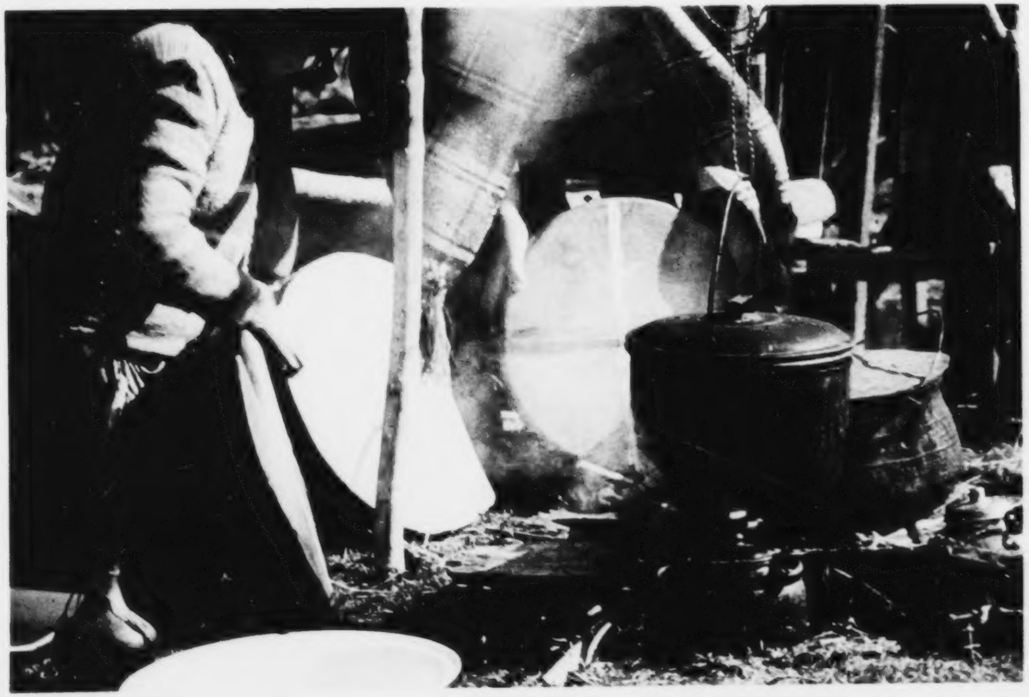


Figure 61. Day of the **nguillatun** "Mono Paine," 1971. Tightening the covers of the **kultruns**. Observe the chromatic writing on the kultrun covers as well as on the cheeks of the Mapuche woman who is performing this ritual activity.
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1971).

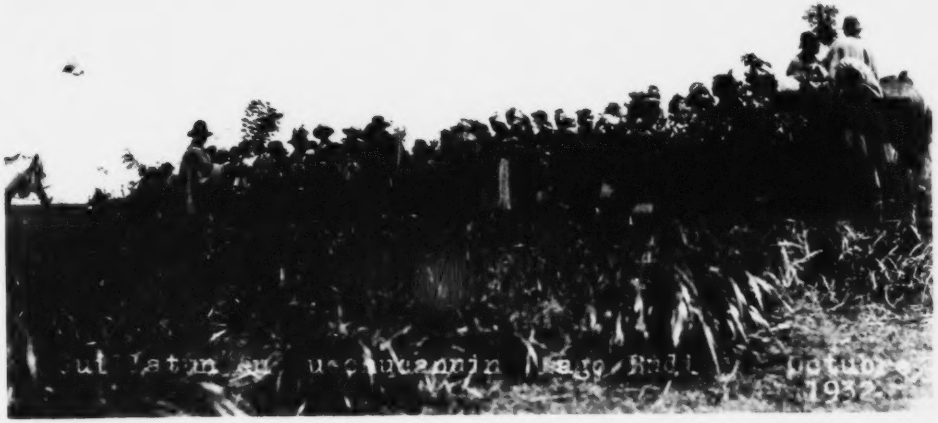


Figure 62. Nguillatun in Quechucahuin, Lake Budi, province of Cautín, Chile. Branches of **canelo** (*Drimys winteri*), the most sacred plant of the Mapuches, can be observed in the hands of the participants. (Photograph by Roberto Sommer, 1932).

The maqui, along with the canelo, is another Chilean native tree the Mapuches show Ngenechen especially in the nguillatun. This tree produces an edible fruit of spherical form and of black-violet color. There exists a variety of maqui whose berries are white. For Mapuche society, the canelo and the maqui have a double value. First, the Mapuches have incorporated them into their cosmology, thus transforming them into axiomatic symbols. Second, both plants have therapeutic qualities that the **machis** have used from generation to generation in the treatment of specific illnesses (2).

As one of the essential elements of Mapuche biocosmology, the colihue has the following functions:

1. It forms part of the "vegetal attire" of the altar of the nguillatun.
2. As a musical instrument, materialized in the body of the **trutruka** (aerophone) and in the **trepucultrunwe** or stick used to beat the membrane that covers the **kultrun** (membranophone). The trepucultrunwe has one of its ends wrapped with colored wool strings that symbolize the rainbow.
3. As a symbol of authority when it is brandished by the guardians of the nguillatun.
4. As a flagpole for the nguillatun as well as the machi flags.

Tied to the altar of the nguillatun, the **manzano** branches are transformed into another sacred plant that reinforces the Mapuche/Chao Dios communication.

The manzano (*Malus communis*) is a tree which the Mapuches cultivate with the principal purpose of utilizing its fruits in the preparation of the **chicha de manzana**, one of the traditional beverages they consume during the development of their rituals and on special occasions (parties, athletic competitions, etc.).

The sacred plants that "dress" the altar of the nguillatun objectify and reinforce socio/cultural values of the Mapuche people and at the same time revitalize cyclically the nature/Ngenechen interaction. This ecologico-spiritual model has permitted the Mapuches to preserve their cultural identity in their land.

Dances

In the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971, the Mapuches performed three types of dances with which they revitalized their petitions/prayers to Ngenechen: dance of the machis, of the **chioquepurrufes**, and of the attendants to the ritual. These dances constituted axiomatic symbols that centralized the activities of the nguillatun and reinforced the nexus of social interaction among all the Mapuches that were present in that ritual. Following, I will analyze these dances.

1.- **Dance of the machis**. In this dance, the machis performed the musical rhythm that structured and guided the movements of the dancers of the ritual. Without leaving the positions they had upon initiating the nguillatun, that is, behind the ngenpin and his assistants - the position they occupied during the development of the ceremony (see Figure 42) - the machis objectified that rhythm with their kultruns. With this purpose, each one of them, sustaining her own drum with the left hand and holding the trepucultrunwe or colihue stick in the right hand, hit it, thus recreating the traditional rhythm that characterizes and defines the dances in the nguillatun. The arm movements of the machis were centralized in the interpretation of the musical rhythm, and fundamentally in the orientation of their kultrunes. Thus, the Mapuche priestesses implored/sung to Ngenechen for their people.

   As one of the integral symbols of the nguillatun, the drums of the machis were the vehicle through which they received the blessing of Chao Dios; they in turn impart it to the participants and to the sacred Mapuche land (Figure 63).

2.- **Dance of the choiquepurrufes** or **choique dancers (zoomorphic dance)**. In present Mapuche biocosmology, the **choique** or South American ostrich (*Rhea darwini*) is a bird which is revived in the nguillatun by sacred dancers or "bird-men" who dance imitating the movements of the mentioned bird.

With the purpose of understanding the symbolism of the dance of the choique, it is necessary to refer back to the past of Mapuche society, in which the activity of hunting constituted one of the systems utilized for procuring food. For this objective, the Mapuches utilized arms that facilitated the capture of the prey. One of the preferred arms of the ancient hunters was the **boleadora** or **bolas**, an object that in Mapudungun is known as **laque** or **laqui**. In "The Voyage of the Beagle," Charles Darwin describes the pampean boleadora - whose effects he suffered "in the flesh" - in the following manner:

> "The bolas or balls, are of two kinds: the simplest, which is chiefly used for catching ostriches, consists of two round stones, covered with leather, and united by a thin plaited thong, about eight feet long.
>
> The other kind differs only in having three balls united by the thongs to a common centre. The Gaucho holds the smallest of the three in his hand, and whirls the other two round and round his head; then, taking aim, sends them like chain shot revolving through the air. The balls no sooner strike any object, than, winding round it, they cross each other, and become firmly hitched."
>
> Darwin, 1980:52 (3).

Smith provides us with another description of the bolas. He affirms that:

> "The 'laqui' (or "bolas" of the Buenos Ayreans) is a triple slung-shot, used as a missile weapon. In using it one of the shot is grasped in the hand, and the other two are whirled around the head until a sufficient impetus is attained, when it is thrown with

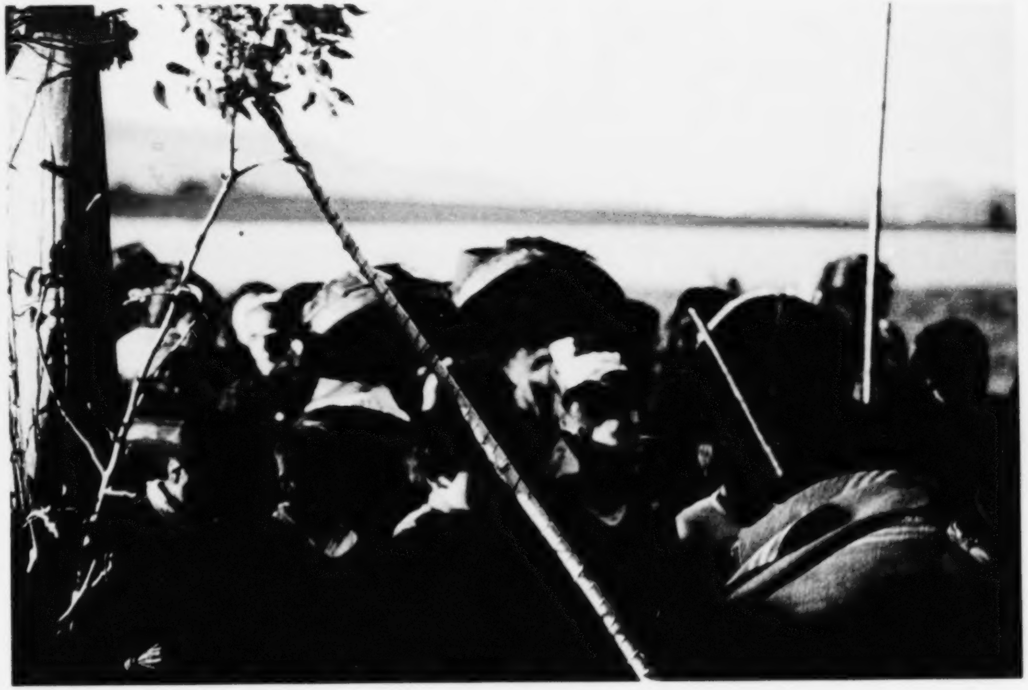


Figure 63. Nguillatun "Mono Paine," 1971. Dance of the **machis**. Two machis with their **kultruns** bless the land. A third machi blesses the concurrence. Relate this photograph with figure 34.
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1971).

> great force and precision."
>
> Smith, 1855:286.

The Mapuches used the boleadora successfully to seize animals and birds. With respect to this activity, Molina sustains that:

> "Even though hunting was not their principal exercise, (the Araucanos) ...captured those wild animals that are found in their country, and especially the birds, that abound everywhere. For this purpose, they made use of the arrow, the **honda**, the **laque**."
>
> Molina, 1978:103.

The rhea or **ñandú** (*Rhea darwini*) was one of the birds the Mapuche hunters chased with more assiduity; a hunt in which the bolas did a good job. The capture of the American ostrich was easy, as Darwin attests in his own words:

> "Although the ostrich in its habits is so shy, wary, and solitary, and although so fleet in its pace, it is caught without much difficulty by the Indian or Gaucho armed with the bolas."
>
> Darwin, 1980:96 (Figure 64).

In the **nguillatun** "Mono Paine" 1971, four "bird-men" represented the dance of the **choique** (tetranity). As one of the integral symbols of the nguillatun, those sacred dancers united Mapuche biocosmology with chromatic symbolism in the ritual elements that characterized them as **choiquepurrufes**. These elements were:

Biocosmology

Three dancers carried feathers of the following sacred birds:

- duck (*Anas platyrhynchos* and *Cairina moschata*).

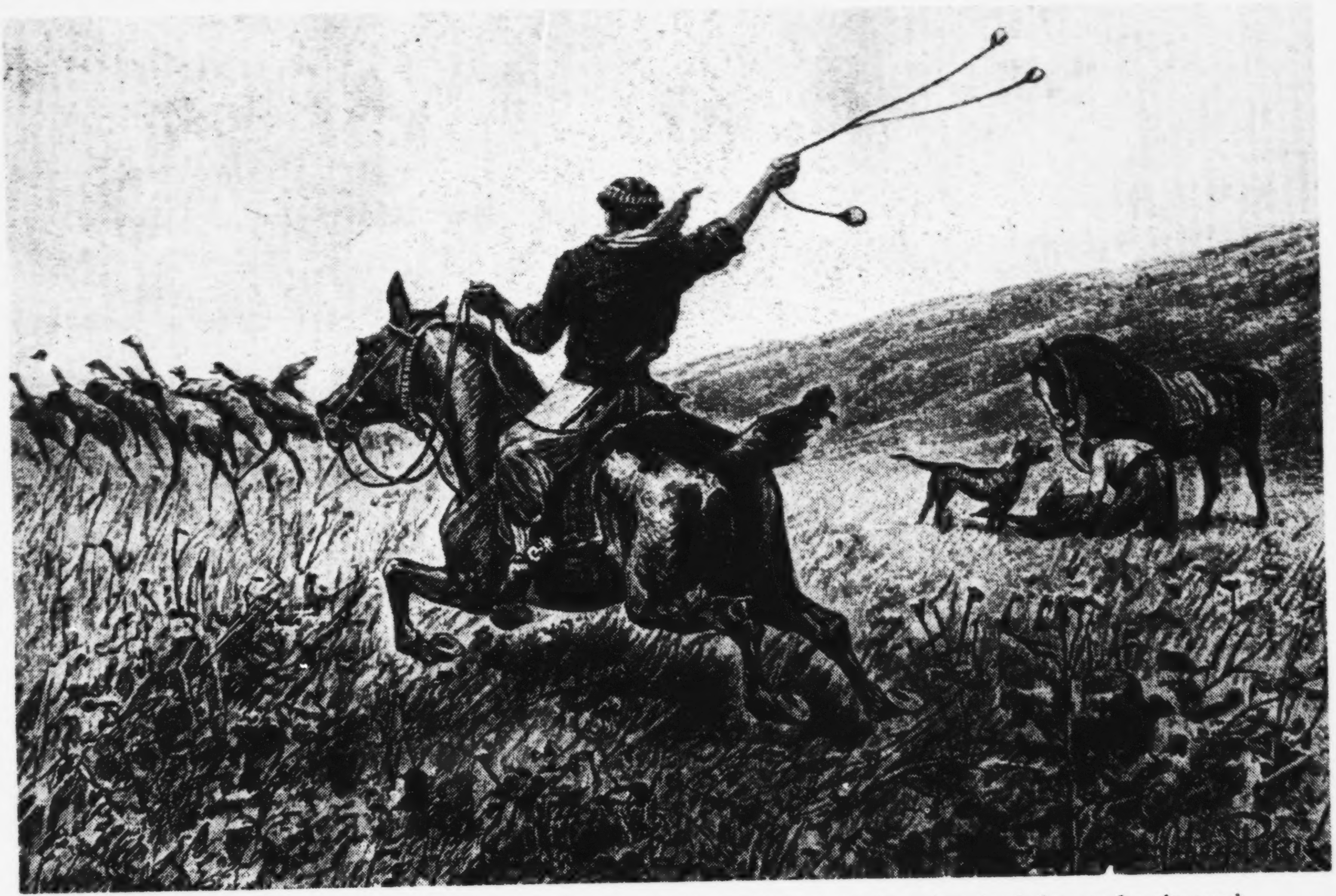


Figure 64. Hunt of the **ñandú** or American ostrich. In this illustration, a gaucho using the **bolas** can be observed. Drawing by Alfredo París, in *Martín Fierro* (Hernández, 1965:162).

- rooster (*Gallus ferrugineus*).
- turkey (*Meleagris gallapavo*).
- goose (*Anser anser*).

The four choiquepurrufes showed on their heads small branches of:

- maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*).
- canelo (*Drimys winteri*).
- laurel (*Pavonia sempervirens* or *Laurelia aromatica*).
- manzano (*Malus communis*).

Chromatic symbolism

On their faces and attire, the sacred dancers graphed the chromatic message that the Mapuches "showed" to Ngenechen (Figures 65 and 66).

Upon the dancers being ready to initiate the dance of the **choique**, a ritual hunter armed with a **boleadora** forced them to enter the **nguillatuwe** (ceremonial ground) to dance in honor of Ngenechen. As integral symbols of the **nguillatun**, the hunter and the **choiquepurrufes** accomplished the functions of reviving the past, revitalizing ancestral cultural values of Mapuche society as well as reinforcing social interactions among all the attendants to the ritual (Figure 67).

3.- **Dance of the attendants to the ritual**. It is the dance performed by the Mapuches within the ceremonial ground. In the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971, this dance was performed by men and women whose movements constituted a "cosmic energy" destined to obtain the good weather of the south. Behind the altar and holding hands, the dancers moved in a south-north/north-south direction, forming a cosmic path through which they "brought" the good southern climate to the Mapuche land (Figure 68).

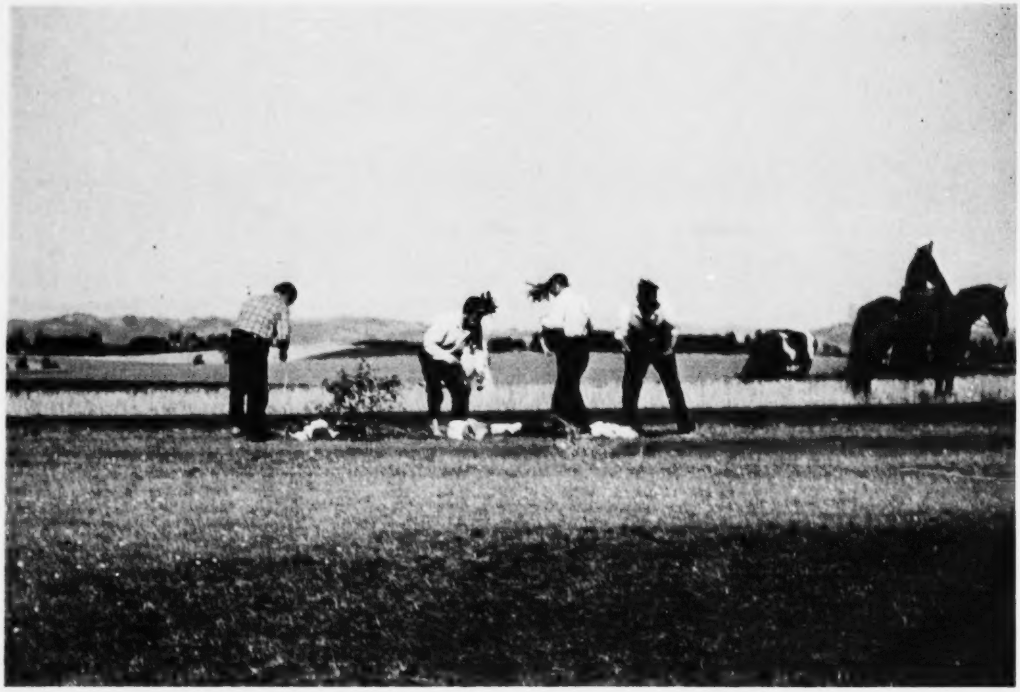


Figure 65. Nguillatun "Mono Paine," 1971. Outside the temple, four sacred dancers (**choiquepurrufe**) dressing themselves with ritual elements: fowl feathers and plants (biocosmology). The chromatic writing is objectified on the faces and garments of these bird-men. In this photograph, one can observe a woman on horseback representing the spirit of water (**Amzumpal** or **Shompallwe**). This iconography is reaffirmed by the colors of the vestments she uses (white cloth on her head, black shawl, and white blouse) which constitute a petition of rain to **Ngenechen**. The color of the horse is a chromatic message that the Mapuche god must interpret as "temperate weather."
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1971).

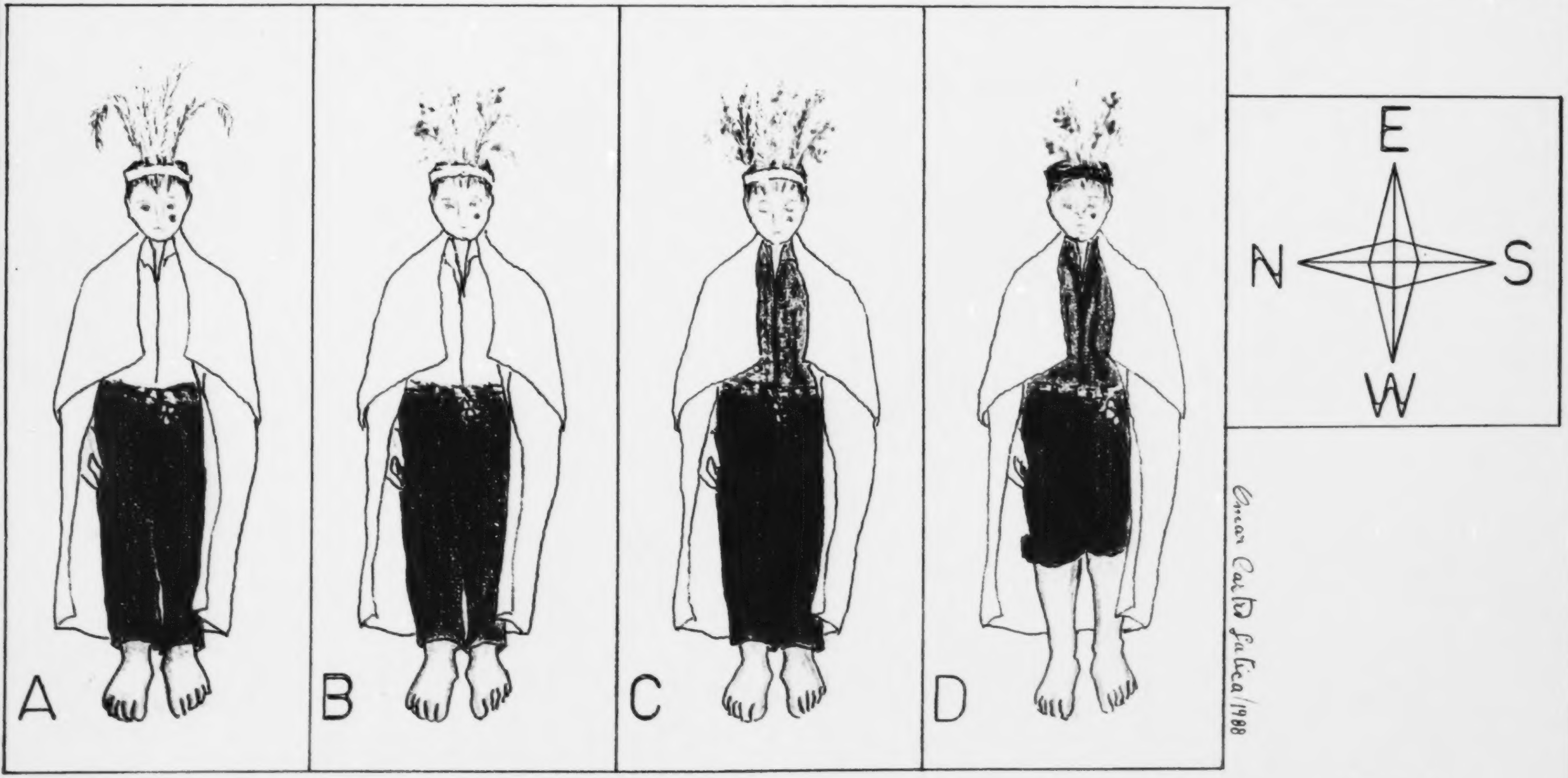


Figure 66. Ritual dancers of the **nguillatun** "Mono Paine," 1971. Biocosmology. The four dancers show on their heads: sacred plants (small **maqui**, **canelo**, **laurel**, and apple tree branches); dancers A-B-C carry duck, rooster, turkey, and goose feathers. The four dancers carry **kaskawilla** (rattles).

On the faces of these dancers, the blue/white chromatic writing can be observed.

A-B = Personification of rain.
C = Petition for temperate climate.
D = Petition for good weather.
(Drawing by the author, 1988).

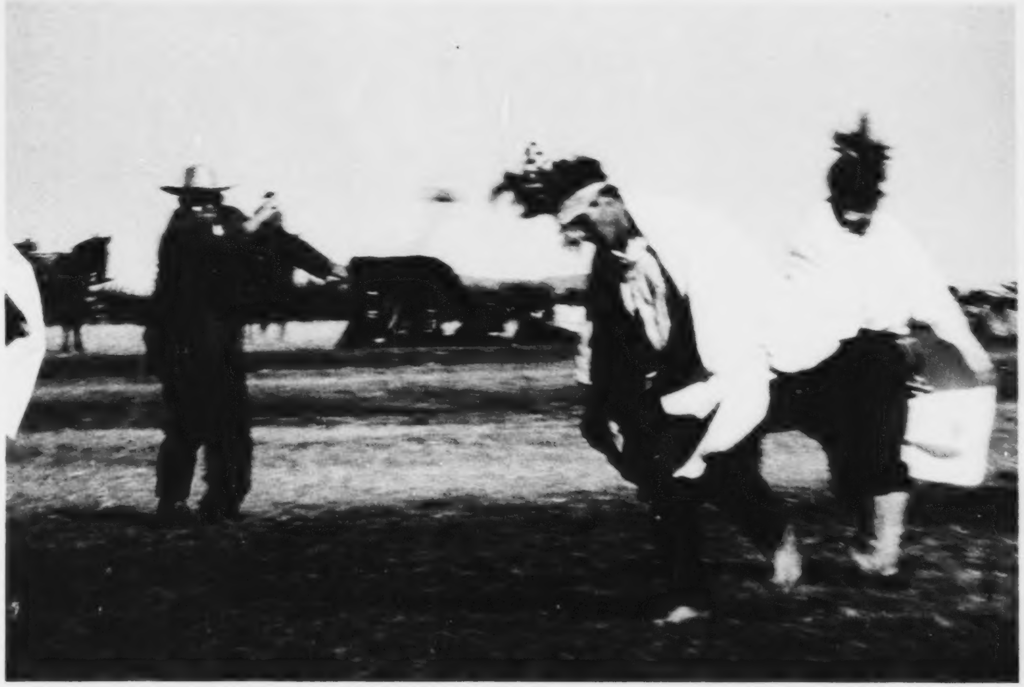


Figure 67. **Nguillatun** "Mono Paine." A ritual hunter at the moment of throwing a **boleadora** (**laque**) to the bird-men or sacred dancers of the nguillatun. This scene is a ritual representation of the ancient activity of hunting that the Araucanian peoples practiced in the past. Note the chromatic message on the faces and garments. (Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1971).

The basic function of this **cosmic dance** of the participants in the ritual was to communicate/show to Ngenechen the necessity of weather that would permit the strengthening and perenniality of the development of agricultural products and the perpetuation of the fertility of animals and plants (4).

Sacred animals and birds

Located in front of the altar of the nguillatun, and due to their special condition of being sacred offerings, specified animals and birds are transformed into axiomatic symbols with which the Mapuches reinforce the petitions/prayers they direct to their divinity. In the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971, the Mapuches showed to Ngenechen a bull, a lamb, a rooster, and a hen, whose colors and sex graphed the necessities of an adequate climate for the normal development of agriculture, and of a constant strengthening of the fertility of the mentioned animals and fowl. The white/black of the bull and the rooster represented the petition of temperate weather with "little" rain; the white of the lamb and the hen, temperate weather (Figure 69).

The horse has constituted one of the most representative animals of Mapuche biocosmology. Mapuche society has given the horse the attribute of a mythical/ritual entity which transforms this animal into a sacred being that is ever present in all the rituals of the society. Hence, in the nguillatun, the horse is an axiomatic and integral symbol at the same time. This double characteristic is materialized in the functions that this animal performs in that collective ritual. These functions are:

1. As a sacred offering to Ngenechen (Figure 70).
2. As a symbol that reflects in its color (chromatic symbolism) the petitions for weather (temperate, rainy, warm) that would favor agricultural activities (Figures 71 and 72).

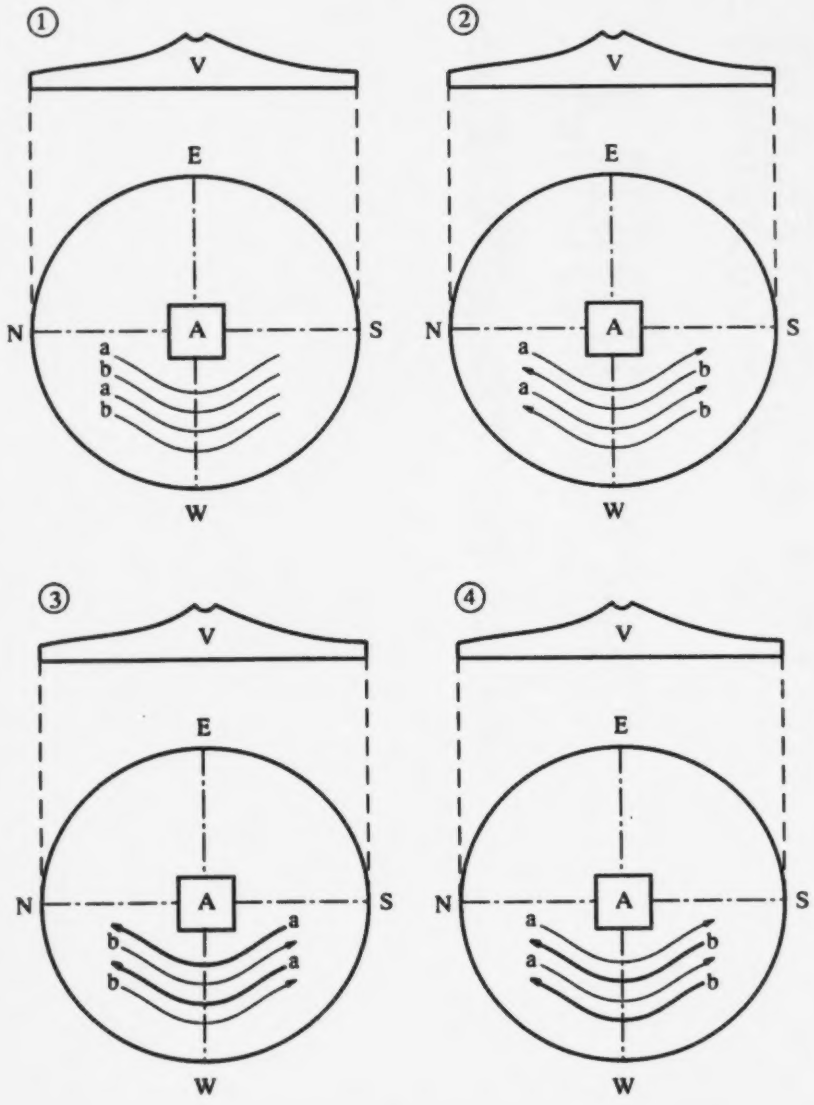


Figure 68. **Nguillatun** "Mono Paine," 1971. Graphical synthesis of the cosmic dance performed by the attendants inside the **nguillatuwe** or natural pemple.

Where: V = Villarrica volcano (2 840 metres).
A = Anthropomorphic altar (**chemamull**).
a = Row of women (two).
b = Row of men (two).
E=East, S=South, W=West, N=North.

Dancer positions:

1.- Position of the dancers before the initiation of the cosmic dance.

2.- Initiation of the cosmic dance. All the dancers hold hands. With small steps - and always looking towards the east (E) - the two rows of women (a) direct themselves towards the south (S) "in search of" good weather. The two rows of men (b) go towards the north (N).

3.- The women return, "bringing" good southern climate towards Mapuche land. In this return, the female dancers exert more energy to their movements; and every one of them cries / implores to **Ngenechen**. The two rows of women prolong this return farther than the center of the **nguillatuwe**, towards the north (N). The men, at the same time, dance in a south direction "searching" for good weather.

4.- The two rows of men return from the south with the good weather. The rows of women move, once more, towards the south.

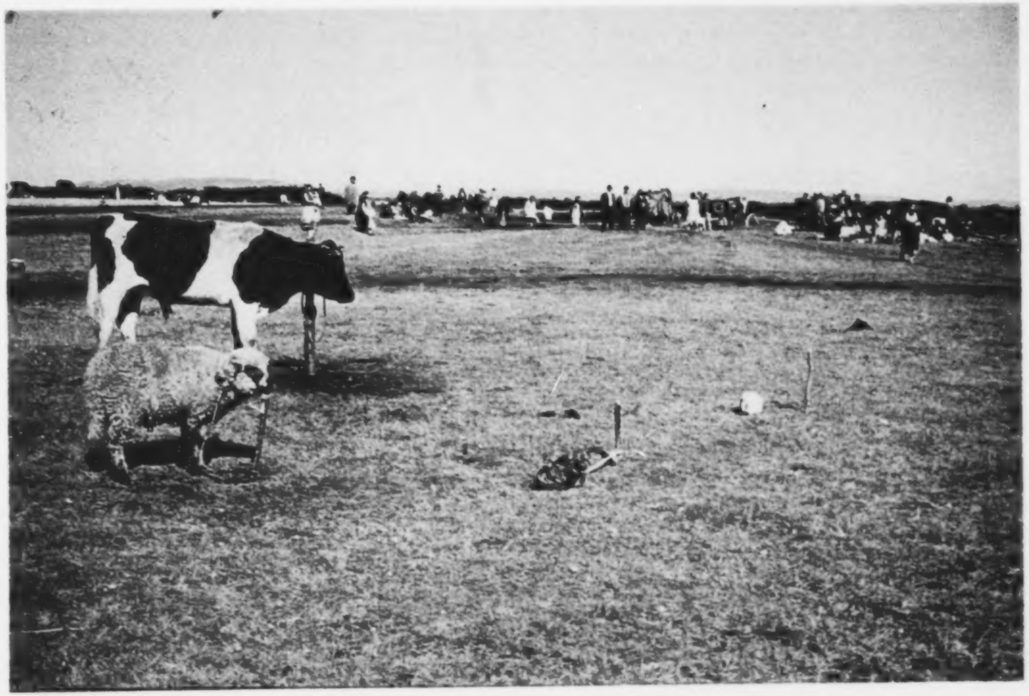


Figure 69. **Nguillatun** "Mono Paine," 1971. Sacred animals and fowl located in front of the altar (**chemamull**): a black and white bull, a white lamb, a castellan rooster (black and white), and a white hen. (Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1971).

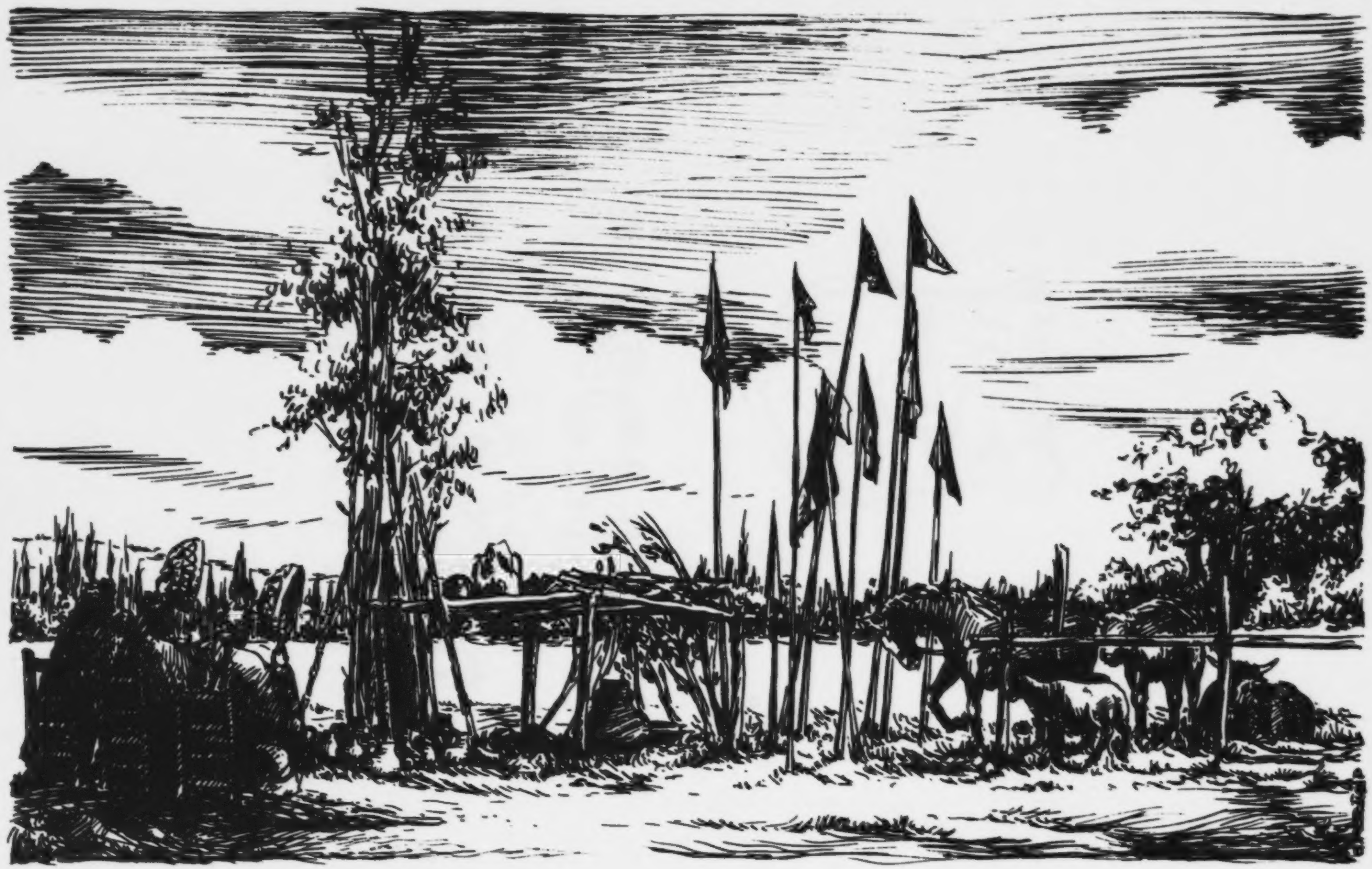


Figure 70. Mapuche biocosmology. Scene of a **nguillatun** in Nueva Imperial (province of Cautín, Chile) in 1976. Next to the ritual flags one can observe sheep, bulls, and a horse, animals that the Mapuches presented to **Ngenechen** as sacred offerings.
In this illustration, the **machis** appear venerating the altar dressed with sacred plants.
(Drawing by Guillermo Meriño Pedreros, 1977).

3. During the **awun**, as the mythical/ritual nexus that unites the cosmos, graphed in the flags the riders bear, with the Mapuche land (Figure 73).

One of the essential functions of the nguillatun is to reinforce/reenact cyclically the Mapuche/Ngenechen interaction. This constant revitalization of the nexus with which the Mapuche society establishes a periodic contact with the supernatural world is reaffirmed by the presence of the animals and birds previously mentioned.

Mapuche biocosmology has provided the lamb, bull, and horse with the quality of sacred beings whose fundamental mission is to facilitate the communication of the Mapuche people with Chau Elchefe. This communication can be interrupted by the "unpleasant apparition" of a dog (*Canis familiaris*) in the **nguillatuwe** or ceremonial ground. This animal objectifies an evil spirit that negatively interferes in the Mapuche society/Ngenechen union. During the development of the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971, a dog entered the spiritual place. Immediately, a guardian of the nguillatun armed with a **colihue** club vigorously hit this animal, violently expelling it from the temple (Figure 74).

Through the analysis of the symbolism of the nguillatun, the two axial functions of color can be understood: as a unifying element of the good disposition and intentions of all the participants in the ritual; and as the graphic message that "shows" the Mapuche deity the necessities/petitions of the deity's people. Thus, Ngenechen "can visualize and know" the situations/problems that originated the realization of the nguillatun. In this manner, color facilitates Chau Dios in the solution of the problems that Mapuches "show" the deity in the nguillatun. The colors/petitions that the Mapuche society presented to Dios Fucha in the nguillatun "Mono Paine" 1971 graphed the necessities of weather that would permit the normal development of agriculture and at the same time a constant revitalization of the fertility of animals and plants. These two fundamental necessities are involved directly in the continuity of "Mapuche life," continuity that has provided the metaphysical and religious base to the Mapuche nguillatun. In this manner, in the nguillatun color is the magico-ritual-propitiatory nexus that unites the natural/tangible world with the supernatural/intangible world (Figure 75).

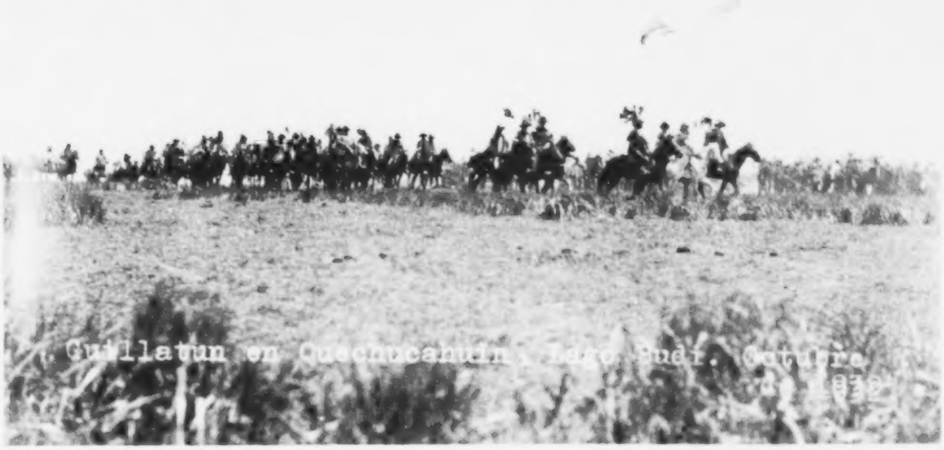

Guillatun en Quechucahuin. Lago Budi.

Figure 71. **Awun** of a **nguillatun** in Quechucahuin, Lake Budi (province of Cautín, Chile). Four horses, two black ones and two white ones, lead the awun. In this nguillatun, the Mapuches asked for rain from **Ngenechen**. (Photograph by Roberto Sommer, 1932).

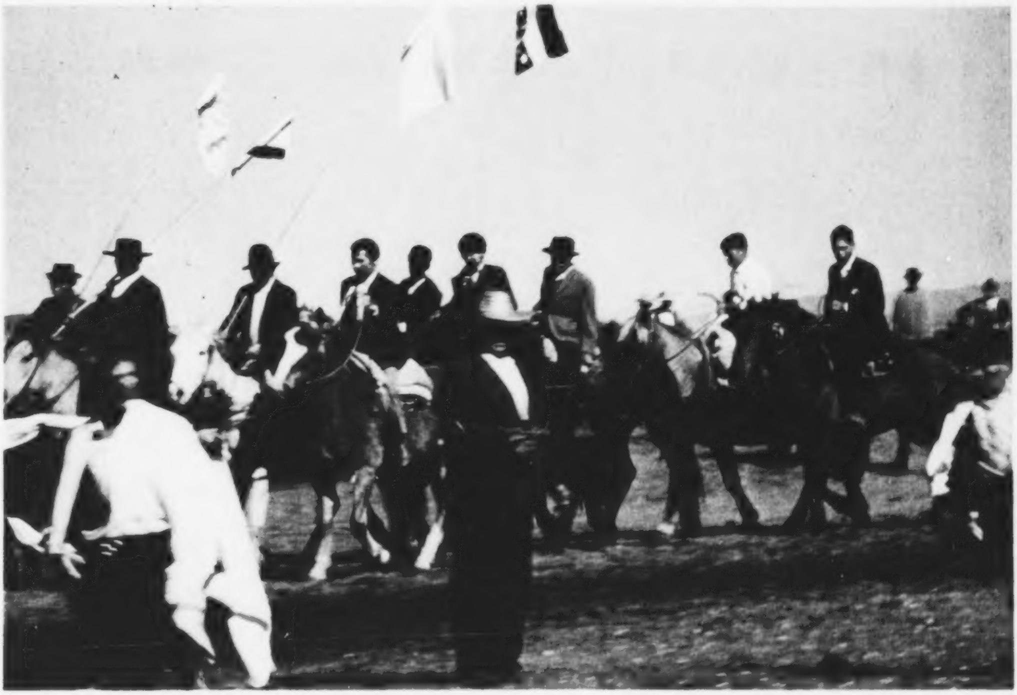


Figure 72. **Nguillatun** "Mono Paine," 1971. Initiation of the **awun** or circling of the nguillatun. Observe the colors of the horses, garments of the riders, and the color of the flags (chromatic writing). In the foreground, one can appreciate the ritual hunter and two sacred dancers. (Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez,1971).

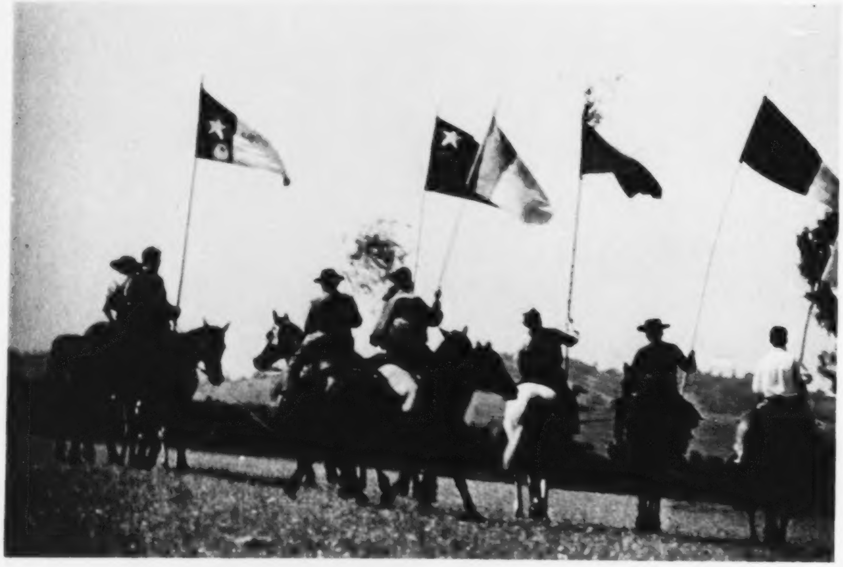


Figure 73. **Awun** of a **nguillatun** in Pircunche (province of Cautín, Chile). By observing the color of the flags, of the horses, and of the attire of the riders, the conclusion is that: in this nguillatun, the Mapuches asked **Ngenechen** for temperate weather, with a "little" rain. The star that appears in two flags (one of them is the Chilean flag) symbolizes the sun; the white circle, the moon.
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1974).

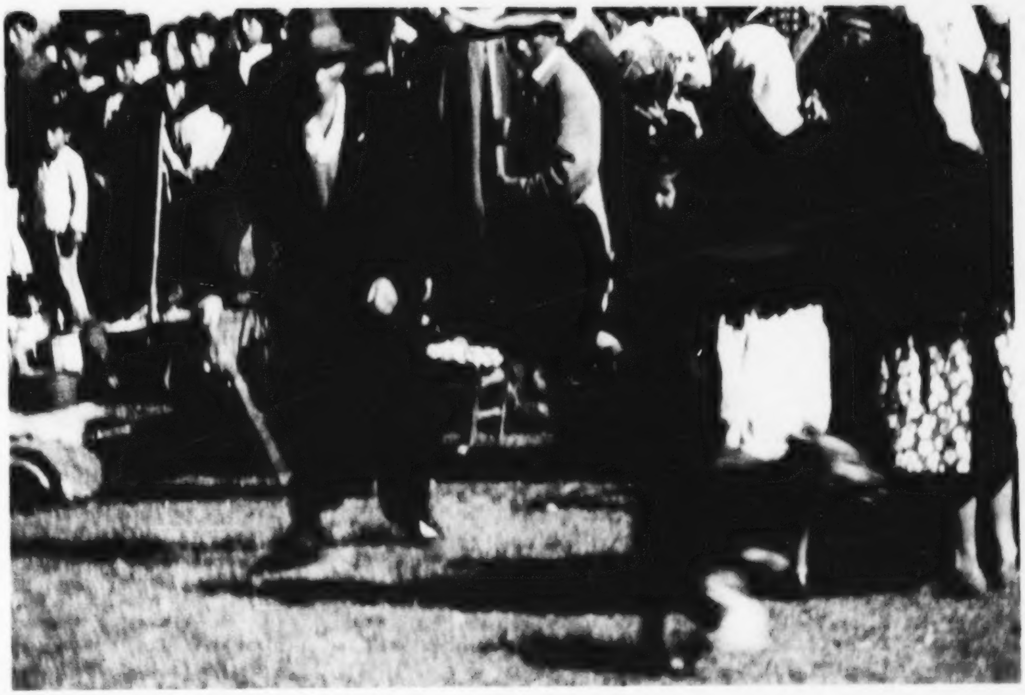
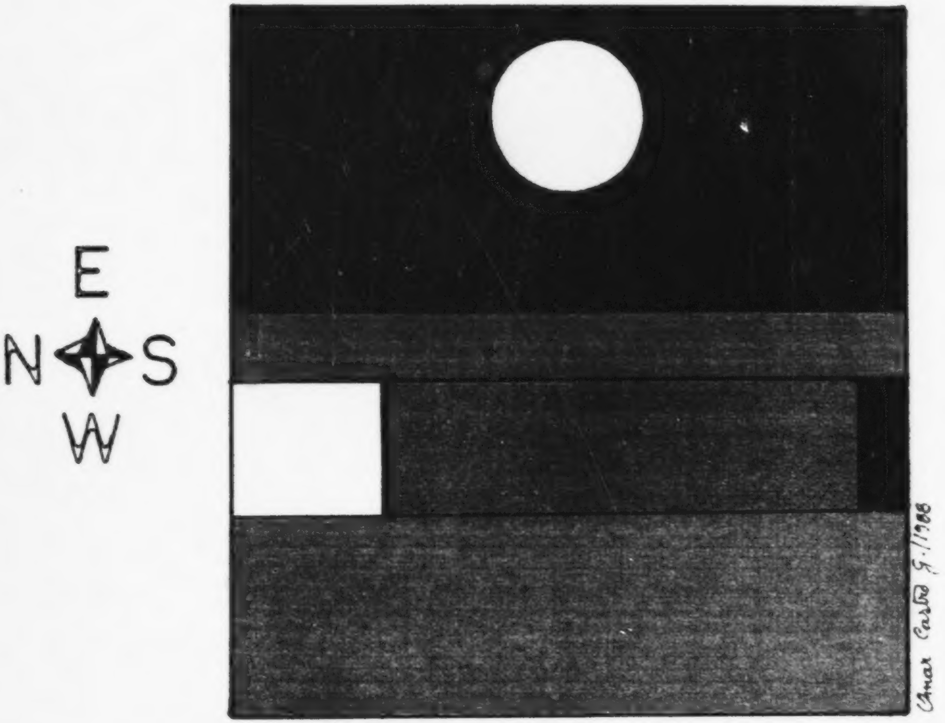


Figure 74. **Nguillatun** "Mono Paine," 1971. In this scene, one can observe one of the guardians of the nguillatun expelling a dog from the temple. During the development of the nguillatun, a dog that enters the **nguillatuwe** represents a bad spirit that disturbs the Mapuche / **Ngenechen** interaction. This evil spirit must be displaced from the spiritual place.
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1971).



SIGNIFICANCE OF COLOR:

	Sun, warmth, good weather, life.
■	Sky, cosmos, chromatic writing (good weather).
▨	Land, biocosmology.
▨	Plants, nature, biocosmology.
□	Chromatic writing (clouds bearing little water: temperate climate), biocosmology.
■	Chromatic writing (rain), biocosmology.

Figure 75. Color schema in the **nguillatun** "Mono Paine," 1971.
The colors symbolize: life, power, energy, climate, biocosmology (flora, fauna), chromatic writing (petitions to **Ngenechen**).

Notes

1.- Juan Ignacio Molina (1740-1829) carried out studies of the history, anthropology, and natural sciences of Chile. He based his knowledge of botany and zoology on the texts of Carl von Linne (1707-1778), a Swedish naturalist who oriented his scientific activities.

As a naturalist, Molina applied his knowledge to the observation and analysis of the flora and fauna of Chile. He placed special importance upon Mapuche ethnobotany, which he considered vital to the diet, medicine, and the arts of these people. Molina published the result of his investigations in three fundamental works which define him as a profound scholar of the Chilean culture of his epoch: "Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del Regno del Chile" (1776), "Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili" (1782), "Saggio sulla storia civile del Chili" (1787).

2.- For more complete information concerning the medicinal qualities of the **canelo**, **maqui**, and other native plants of Chile, I recommend the work by Sonia Montecino/Ana Conejeros, "Mujeres Mapuches: El saber tradicional en la curación de enfermedades comunes," 1985.

3.- Darwin decided to learn the technique of throwing the bolas. With this purpose, one day he had his first encounter with that weapon, but his inexperience caused the bolas to hunt the horse he rode. The gauchos that observed his movements:

> "...roared with laughter; they cried out that they had seen every sort of animal caught, but had never before seen a man caught by himself." (Darwin, 1980:53).

4.- For more information referring to the dances the Mapuches perform during the development of the **nguillatun**, I suggest a review of the works of Alonqueo (1985:70-1), Casamiquela (1964:136-45), Hassler (1957:140-2), and Moesbach (1973:378-94).

CHAPTER 6

THE MAPUCHE NGUILLATUN: PRAYER/CONVERSATION WITH NGENECHEN

The **nguillatun** is the ritual that unites the Mapuches with their land into a harmonious whole. Mapuche society has centralized this union in Ngenechen, who exercises divine control through its double function: as an anthroposocial deity (Goode, 1951), and as the power that regulates sociopolitical interactions among the Mapuches and between this society and the Chilean state.

To materialize the union, the Mapuches pray/converse with their divinity in the nguillatun, thus establishing a system of communication through which the Mapuche deity comes to know the problems that affect its people. This communication is guided by the high Mapuche priest or **ngenpin** who "converses" with Ngenechen, imploring at the same time for its help in special situations that threaten Mapuche existence.

The prayers/conversations that the Mapuches direct to Ngenechen in the nguillatun are related to each one of the essential attributes that Mapuche society has given to its deity. This relationship can be summarized in the following manner:

Ngenechen as an anthroposocial deity

1.- It receives animal sacrifices (biocosmology) to be honored and exalted. These sacrifices are accepted by this divinity with "pleasure and delight."

2.- It must understand and help its people: the Mapuche people.

3.- It taught and established the nguillatun, a ritual that cyclically reinforces socio-cultural interactions among the Mapuches and between this society and Chao Dios.

4.- It must continue its creation to ensure the continuity of "Mapuche life."

5.- It is the spiritual/metaphysical nexus that unites the Mapuche land with its inhabitants.

Ngenechen as the power that structures and regulates sociopolitical interactions among the members of Mapuche society and between this society and the Chilean state

With respect to this function, Chau Elchefe "is present," especially in two rituals:

a) The **conchotun**, or strengthening of a firm and lasting "Mapuche friendship."

b) The naming of a new Mapuche **cacique** (civil chief) during the development of a nguillatun. In this ritual, Ngenechen confirms the new cacique in its human/divine position that empowers this new chief (**lonko**) to constitute himself into another link of the tacit chain that reinforces the sociopolitical interaction among the members of the Mapuche people: the admapu.

The principal duty of the cacique or lonko is to establish and to maintain politico-economic interactions between the Mapuche society and the Chilean state. Due to this vital function, the Mapuches have incorporated the designation of a new chief into their ritual system. For this reason, the position of the new lonko is sanctioned by Ngenechen during a specified nguillatun in which the Mapuches ask Elchekelu "to illuminate and orient" so much the Chilean authorities as the new chief in all those actions tending to a better understanding between Mapuche society and the Chilean state.

As the supreme result of Mapuche metaphysics, Ngenechen is the nucleus around which these people have structured their system of life. **Chau Elchefe**, with its two attributes of anthroposocial deity and the power that regulates sociopolitical interactions, is a divinity that must be venerated, honored, and remembered periodically in the ritual of the nguillatun.

The preceding affirmation has full validity and vitality in the prayers/conversations the Mapuche direct to Ngenechen in the mentioned ritual. The principal orator (**ngenpin**), with his helpers, the machis, the ritual riders and all the attendants, implore / converse with Elchekelu, thus revitalizing the nexus of social-religious-political and cultural interaction among the Mapuche people. These interactions are clearly reflected by the prayers/conversations which I will transcribe and analyze as follows.

Prayer previous to the nguillatun

Animal sacrifices. Prayer/conversation with Ngenechen realized with the blood of the sacrificed animal. With this prayer:

a) Fertility and adequate climate for the realization of agricultural activities is asked of Chao Ngenechen.

b) Ngenechen is reminded that it is the creator of the Mapuches, for which it must comprehend and help its people.

c) As an anthroposocial deity (Goode, 1951), Ngenechen "feels pleased" upon listening to this prayer:

> "The man who has just finished killing an animal prays with the blood. He stands outside the house beside a fence; in a glass he carries blood. Then he cries 'oooo' and dips his fingers in the glass containing the blood, sprays it upwards and prays:
> Here you are Father, Blue Sky, Flattener of the river, you have raised us, it pleases you that your sheep continue to pray to you; give us abundant sustenance, all kinds of field products. Be propitious and have compassion; will you again send us sun and rain, my sheep ask, will you say of us, oooom."

Moesbach, 1973:377. (see Figure 14).

Initiation of the nguillatun

The **ngenpin** converses with Ngenechen with the purpose of asking that creative work continue. In this conversation, the ngenpin reminds Chao Dios that the **nguillatun** is performed by the deity's teaching and order.

> "Favor me, Father. For you we live; by you there are sowings that we care for. You give us oxen. Created by you sheep exist. Favor me, Father God: that I be well. Long live my son, will you say. Give me your good fortune, Father God who are in heaven. This prayer is your mandate, your power. All prayers you have posed, all prayers you want. Mandate it is, that is why we are invoking prayers here. Created by you are so many people. This prayer was known by all the grandfathers. Prayers invoked today are not my work, it is your teaching to the grandfathers. As soon as people were made, 'the Mapuche prayer is thus,' you said. 'With the blood of animals, with the blood of sheep, with **mudai** you shall pray,' you said. As soon as people were made, 'you shall pray,' you said. That is why I pray, Father God."
>
> Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:157.

Prayer of the ngenpin (initiation of the nguillatun)

The ngenpin communicates to Chau Elchefe that the nguillatun is realized to extol the deity and ask favors, and to honor the deity with "offerings of life" (agricultural products, animals, and birds).

> "Here we are, praying today to praise you and ask you favors. Father, you sustain us with your power, so give us strength and have compassion on us. Here we offer you these offerings of life, the fruit of the land you gave us so that we may live and have the strength to live."
>
> Alonqueo, 1985:44. (Figures 76 and 77).

Prayer of the helpers of the ngenpin

In this prayer, it is communicated to Ngenechen that the **nguillatun** is performed as an offering destined to the deity. At the same time, it is asked of the Mapuche divinity that the vital cycle that regulates the conservation and fertility of the Mapuche land strengthen itself and continue indefinitely.

> "'Oooom' here you are, Dominator of the earth. Today we celebrate the **nguillatun** as an offering to you; favor us with all foods; there are all kinds of products like wheat, vetch and potatoes: you will preserve them for us and will you say of us: 'you still pray to me my sheep'. Have pity on us, because you have engendered us."
>
> Moesbach, 1973:384-5.

Prayer of the machis

In this prayer/conversation, the machis remind Fucha Chao of the obligation of listening to them and providing all that is asked. In a second part of this prayer, the Mapuche priestesses communicate to Ngenechen that he should not be offended if they use their silver jewelry in the nguillatun because he provided them with the intelligence and the desire to "look beautiful" in his view and for him.

> "Our lord, you are watching us: look at us. You are obliged to listen to us. We are intelligent people because of your will. We are praying to you, have pity. Please, to us all give all kinds of products, all kinds of animals, good animals. We want to have abundant grasslands so that the animals may live. You left all of this for us, my Dios.
>
> We are praying to you; let Ngenechen not be offended to see his servants with many ornaments, such as jewelry or luxury,

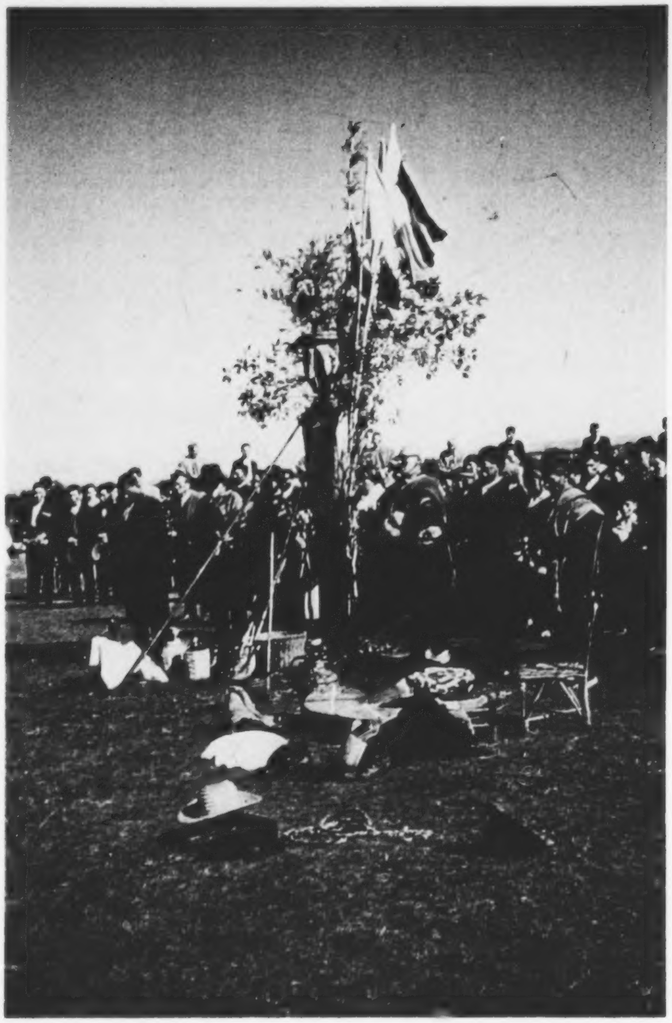


Figure 76. Nguillatun "Mono Paine," 1971. Standing at the right side of the altar (south), the **ngenpin** Pascual Ñancuvilu realizes his first conversation / prayer with **Ngenechen**. Located at the left side of "Mono Paine" (north), is the interpreter who translates onto common **Mapudungun** the words of the ngenpin. Four chiefs of lesser rank are located at the sides of the ngenpin and the interpreter. **Machis** and attendants are standing, forming semicircles behind the ngenpin. In the left hand, each of the principal orators holds a **jarro-pato** containing **muday** (ritual beverage) and in the right hand a small branch of **canelo**.
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1971).

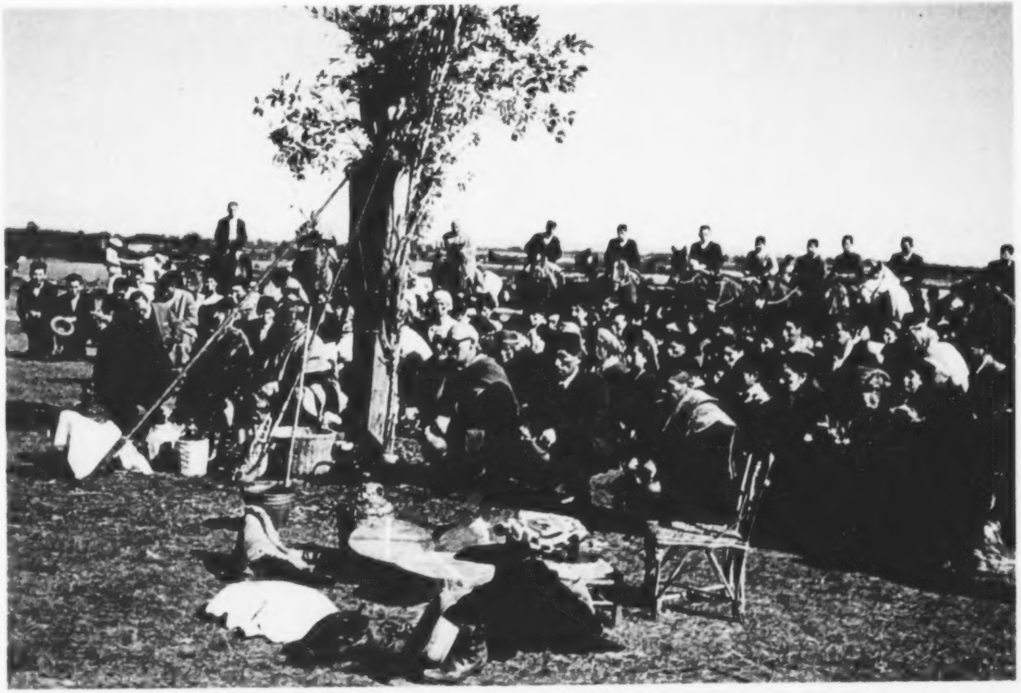


Figure 77. **Nguillatun** "Mono Paine," 1971. Kneeling, all participants of the nguillatun pray to **Ngenechen**, guided by the **ngenpin**. Behind the rows of women and men, one can observe the ritual riders on their horses. The **kultruns** of the **machis** are located in front (towards the north) of the altar.
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1971).

> because he gave them understanding so that they may dress
> themselves and thus appear beautiful, pleasant to his sight. We
> remind you so that you do not forget that you gave us all of
> this."
>
> Informant: Domingo Jaramillo Trina (Mapuche professor).
> Temuco, Provincia de Cautín, 1974.

Prayer during the awun

During the development of the **awun**, the riders on horseback ask Ngenechen for agricultural products so necessary for the preservation and continuity of "Mapuche life." In this prayer, and along with the formulated petition, the riders project and personify in their anthroposocial deity the realization of the **nguillatun**.

> "The men on horseback carry out the solemn awun, they gallop
> around the concurrence, leaving bystanders within their circles.
> They pray while realizing their rounds. They pray:
> Here you are, Flattener of the River, Full River, Blue Sky.
> Give us the field products, favor us with all our sustenance.
> 'You still pray to me today my sheep', will you say of us.
> Ooom."
>
> Moesbach, 1973:384. (Figure 78).

Prayer / conversation of the ngenpin. Petition for rain

In the following three prayers that objectify the rain petition to Eluma, the Mapuches materialize defined situations/cultural values that are involved in the existence and persistence of this society. These two fundamental characteristics of the Mapuches can be appreciated in the analysis and interpretation of the mentioned prayers, which I will now review.

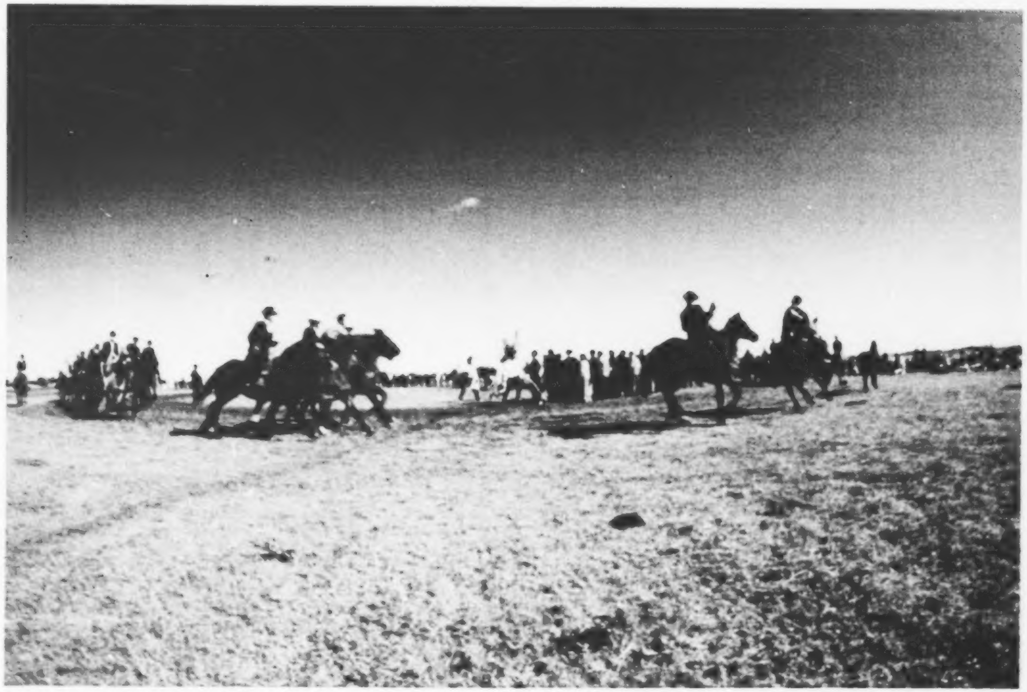


Figure 78. **Awun** of the **nguillatun** "Mono Paine," 1971. Riders on their horses riding in circles around the **nguillatuwe** or natural temple.
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1971).

- Chao Dios is the creator of man, of flora and fauna.
- With the purpose of perpetuating its own existence, the Mapuche society centralized in Ngenechen the creation and institutionalization of the rite of the nguillatun. According to Mapuche beliefs, Ngenechen taught the ancestors the correct performance of the nguillatun, teaching that determined one of the constant factors in the persistence of these people.
- With the purpose of revitalizing and increasing the agricultural/livestock production, the Mapuches ask **Curi Agne Fucha Huentru Guenechen** for rain. This rain petition to **Curi Agne Cushe Domo Guenechen** must be conceded as soon as possible so that the fertility of Mapuche land is ensured, the physical basis of the existence of that society.

Prayer of the **ngenpin**. Petitions for rain:

> 1. "To encounter again the fruits of the land, I will pray today. You created me, God. You have left me this task, that is why I do this. Because God gave me this work I practise this rite, to obtain my sustenance, my fruits of the land, my wheat, my vetchs, my broad beans, my barley, my potatoes, my corn, my beans: for that I pray to God. Be propitious to me again, give me again all kinds of grains with which to maintain my daughters and sons and with which my family is sustained, that is why today I say of you: He will be kind with me. Be propitious to me, God, since He has created me, that is why I am like this. Let Him send me rains, so that my sowings may prosper and seed well. You have left us with this custom, that is why we continue doing this. All my people and all the Mapuches have this custom. My father has not introduced this use: God, you have created us. 'You shall follow this rite', you told me, God

creator of men, who has power over men and animals. Hence there are horses, cows, sheep, hens, which you have raised for us and you have told us: 'Pray thee for this.' That is why we pray. Have compassion on me, give me, oh God, that which I ask of you. Say today: 'It grieves me to see the persistence with which my **ngenpin** prays'; concede to me today that which I ask of you."

Augusta, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:155-7.

2. "Ngenechen, today, we pray so that you may forgive us, so that our sons do not die, so that they may serve.

We pray for rain, so that the fields may produce. So that we have animals. Let it rain, will you say, great man. And you, great woman, we pray to the two great and ancient persons. We are looking upwards; twice we kneel. So that the children do not become sick. At the center of heaven you are. All things you have done. Because of you, we stand."

Victoria, 1965:48.

3. "Give me again my rain, old man of black face. Give me again my stream, old soul of black face. Favor me then, I pray then, old man of black head. Favor me then, in the middle of heaven, noble old soul. Today I come to pray to you then, old soul of black head."

Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:157.

Prayer / petition of good weather

In the two prayers (A and B) that I will now transcribe, the Mapuches direct their prayers to the "old man of white face" (**Flan Agne Fucha Huentru**) to ask for good weather and an abundant harvest. In both prayers the **ngenpin** insists upon the necessity of warmth and propitious sky for the ripeness of agricultural products. With these prayers/petitions the orators of the nguillatun reinforce the Mapuche/land/Ngenechen relationship, revitalizing at the same time the nexus of social interaction among the members of Mapuche society.

> (A) "Give me again my blue sky, old man of white face. Give me again my white cloud, old soul of white face. Give me again my hot sun, in the middle of the sky, old soul. Give me again my good sky, my very hot sun. You will give me again my good animals, my sowing. You then are near, you will have me favored then, king of the middle sky. You will have given me good grass, fruits of trees, everything. You will have given us then good sun, good rain. This day I come to pray to you, great man of the middle of the sky.
>
> Our afflictions you well know, we are poor, do not forget us, we do not have you forgotten. You will have me favored, old man of two faces who are in the middle of heaven. Old soul of two faces. Favor me then, noble man of the sky, king of heaven, old woman of the sky. You are above young man, old man. You are in the sky, you are in the entire earth."
>
> Robles Rodríguez, cited by Casamiquela, 1964:157-8.

> (B) "This day kneeling on the land, God, give me good sky; this

> day kneeling on the land, God, give me good harvest, give me strength, much harvest give me, good grass give me, good farm give me, good thought give me, give me life with all my family, give me a good job, many years and long life give me."
>
> Hassler, 1957:90-1.

Prayer / petition to Ngenechen to remove a grasshopper plague that devastated Mapuche land

With this prayer, the Mapuches concretize the following objectives:

1.- To revitalize the traditionality and perenniality of the **nguillatun**, a ritual that from generation to generation has constituted one of the most characteristic cultural performances of the Mapuche society.

2.- To obtain from Ngenechen the elimination of a grasshopper (*Schistocerca americana*) plague that was razing to the ground Mapuche land. In this petition, the Mapuches demonstrated to their divinity the preoccupation with that plague which threatened normal agricultural production. As this threat constituted a serious danger to the development of "Mapuche life," all the participants in the nguillatun united their prayers with the purpose of being heard by Ngenechen. With this action the Mapuches strengthened once more the nexus of social interaction, reinforced their cultural values, and gave new sap to their own cultural identity.

> "We stand, on this beautiful pampa, again, like our good ancestors used to do, our good grandfathers, our good fathers and relatives who are no more and whom we invoke also; because this time, we have an invasion of detrimental bugs in our sowings (reference is made to the invasion of grasshoppers).

> Let us ask protection of Ngenechen, our chiefs (**pulonko**) have concluded; and that is why we soon accepted and came to realize this **nguillatun** to thee.
>
> We gathered to ask that you favor us, Handler of the Land; you, Handler of Men; you who dispose and govern these bugs. Do not let them damage us in our sowings; displace this grasshopper plague so that they go to other lands or reach the sea (they come from the Argentinian side).
>
> Here is the heart of your animal; here is the heart of the victim that we offer to you: we sprinkle you with the blood that flows from it.
>
> Favor us you, who placed on earth all that exists; you who has given us the life we live. Say: 'seed well the sowings of my sons; leave!, damaging bugs.' Ahoooo."
>
> Tripailaf, 1948:14-17.

The ritual of the conchotun

Enacted during the development of the **nguillatun**, the **conchotun** is sanctioned by Ngenechen, divinity that founds and materializes a firm and clear level of the "Mapuche friendship": the **concho**. Augusta (1966:99) affirms that **koncho** is a "friendship title that two men, who have presented each other sheep, give each other with the respective ceremony." To concretize this "friendship title," the two men or conchos pray to Ngenechen. These prayers have two specific objectives:

a) Fertility. To ask Chao Dios for an abundance of agricultural/livestock products with the purpose of ensuring the continuity of "Mapuche life."

b) To reinforce the nexus of social interaction among the members of Mapuche society, and at the same time to reinforce social/spiritual/cultural relationships between said society and its anthroposocial deity Ngenechen. In this form, the ritual of the **conchotun** regulates the emergence of possible antagonism and antisocial conduct that would affect the Mapuche norms of behavior. Thus, the conchotun strengthens and controls the cohesion among the members of the society.

According to Moesbach, the ritual of the conchotun is carried out in the following manner:

> "A man to whom the relation of concho has been offered on a previous occasion wants to reciprocate the relation to his partner, making the special concho friendship bilateral. A man says: 'today we will take each other mutually as conchos; here is the lamb.' He has a lamb tied to a rope, whose extremity he gives to his concho, placing it on his hands. He receives it. 'Let us pray,' the donor proposes. 'Good' answers the other. The donor of the lamb runs to take its heart, while still alive; he holds it in his hand, sucks it, spits upwards and says: 'Oooom, here you are, Dominator of the Earth, Blue Sky; give us our sown ground; you will say of us "let my sons live many years, let them have abundance of animals"; do not induce us to misfortune, oooom.' 'Now you,' he says to the one who gave him the lamb. This one takes the heart and prays: 'Oooom here you are, Father; hear our prayer; do not reject us, King Father. Old Queen; direct your protective look towards us, give us good weather and rain so that we may find our sustenance and we will make you **nguillatun** for all our life. Oooom."
>
> Moesbach, 1973:389-90.

The nguillatun as unifying nexus between Mapuche society and the Chilean state

The naming of a new **cacique** (**lonko**) or civil Mapuche chief constitutes a renewing of socio-political nexus between the Mapuches and the Chilean state.

The vital function of the cacique is to represent the Mapuches in all civil matters (administrative, juridical, political) related to social and economic problems which are involved in the Mapuche society / Chilean state interaction. Since this function of the lonko is fundamental in the Mapuche / **winka** (non-Mapuche) relation, the Mapuches have transformed the naming of a new cacique into a specific ritual which is realized during the development of a **nguillatun**, a ceremony in which Ngenechen "legalizes" the power, responsibilities, and activities of the new Mapuche chief.

From the information that I now transcribe in extenso, it is appreciated that there are two basic functions of the nguillatun; that is, the nguillatun as a ritual of fertility, and as materialization of socio-political interactions among the members of Mapuche society and between this society and the Chilean nation. These functions of the nguillatun have a clear and firm purpose: to strengthen the ethnicity and persistence of the Mapuche people within the capitalist/materialist system in which this society develops. This axial objective of the nguillatun has permitted the Mapuches to maintain an iron attitude of refusal in view of a profound cultural change which would dramatically alter the essence of "Mapuche life."

With a nguillatun the Mapuches receive a cacique, as described in this newspaper article:

> "The tradition of the nguillatuns is maintained in the zone. In the proximities of Victoria (province of Malleco, Chile) a native manifestation is now prepared in homage to the new cacique. In the same manifestation, Mapuches of almost the entire region will participate.

VICTORIA. A nguillatun is to be performed on the 10 and 11 of the present (April) in the Mapuche **reducción** of Pailahueque. On this occasion the new cacique of the community will be named, and at the same time diverse prayers of benefit for the region and the country will be realized.

The religious act has the permission of the commander-in-chief Lieutenant Colonel José Bocaz Zambrano and of local authorities.

The religious act will commence on Saturday 10 at 16:00 hours (Mapuche tetranity), with an approximate duration of two hours; it will be renewed the following day, at 07:00 hours, and will be prolonged until 09:00 hours. Subsequently, it will proceed with Mapuche dances, later to sustain a fraternal sharing among the attendants, until 18:00 hours.

NEW CACIQUE. On this occasion, the naming of the new cacique of the Pailahueque community is officially confirmed; this position was assigned to the person of Jorge Enrique Pailahueque Mariluan. In this manner, he succeeds his deceased father.

The motives of the nguillatun are the following:

1.- Pray to God, or 'Gunechen' so that he may protect the people of Chile and illuminate the way to success for governing authorities.

2.- Invoke to God (Ngenechen) so that the good times of abundance return and his children do not lack food.

3.- Pray to the Most High (Wenumapu Dios) so that there are neither diseases nor epidemics encountered among the people or animals.

> 4.- Pray to God so that he concedes health, life and success to the new cacique of the community in his dealings."
>
> "EL DIARIO AUSTRAL", Temuco, Chile, Sunday 4 April 1976 (page 9).

Words of the ngenpin upon the ending of the nguillatun

The **ngenpin** communicates to all the participants in the ritual that the **nguillatun** has been performed in the adequate and traditional form that the Mapuche ancestors have established. With this attitude, the high priest of the nguillatun reaffirms existential values comprised in the **admapu** (tacit core of values) which structures and orients the cultural identity of the Mapuche. The words that the ngenpin says upon the ending of the nguillatun are reproduced by Moesbach in the following manner:

> "We have just finished celebrating the **nguillatun** in the traditional form that our ancestors and grandfathers have delegated to us."
>
> Moesbach, 1973:392. (Figure 79).

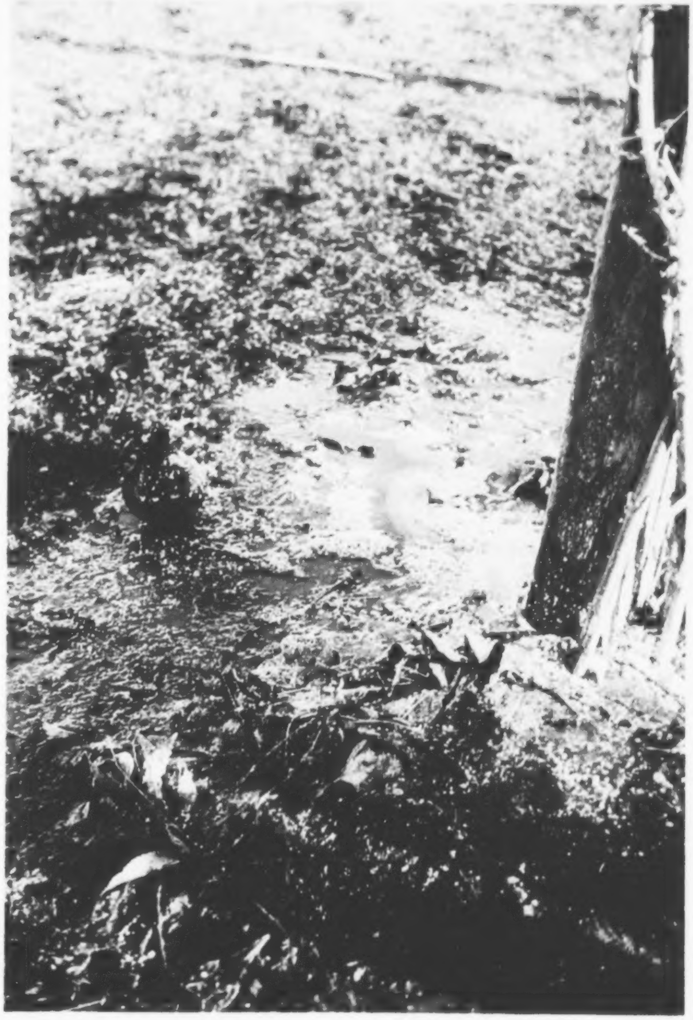


Figure 79. The **nguillatun** "Mono Paine," 1971 has ended. One can observe the base of the anthropomorphic altar "inundated" with **muday**. A jar of clay and small branches of **canelo**, ritual elements used by one of the principal orators, can be appreciated in this scene.
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1971).

CONCLUSION

Ngenechen, the Green Deity, is ever-present in the minds and souls of the Mapuches of Chile

With its essential attributes of Father, Mother, Son, and Daughter, the Mapuche divinity has transcended time, but not space: it is still in force and acting in the Cosmos, on earth, in the flora and fauna that frame the system of beliefs of that society; in everyday life, in ancestral - traditional values, and in the ceremonies that provide identity, essence, and transcendency to that culture.

The Mapuches have preserved and cultivated their beliefs which have identified them as a **pueblo persistente**.

In spite of the powerful and alienating influence of the great tradition, the Araucanians still survive, always guided by **the divine tetranity of Ngenechen** that has not abandoned them (Figure 80). The Mapuches cyclically reinforce the nexus with their divinity in the periodic realization of the nguillatun and of the ngeikurrewen. Both rituals are complemented in the revitalization of the cultural liberty of that society: **in the nguillatun, the Mapuches revive and nurture their ethnic roots; in the ngeikurrewen, a new machi is born.**

In the nguillatun, the Mapuche society reaffirms its social, cultural, religious, political and economic values. This revitalization is intrinsic in the following activities the Mapuches objectify in the ritual:

1.- Acknowledgement and acceptance of Ngenechen as the only and supreme Mapuche deity.

2.- To thank Mapungenechen for the life and the goods the Mapuches obtain from their land.

3.- Presentation and offerings and realization of sacrifices to Chau Dios, especially in situations of crisis that endanger the existence, the normal development, the tranquility, or the harmony of Mapuche life.

4.- To preserve the traditional ancestral code of social, religious, political, and cultural norms that regulate and orient traditional Mapuche life: the **admapu**.

5.- To preserve Mapudungun as the language that unites the members of Mapuche society and as the vital nexus between Mapuche culture and Ngenechen.

6.- To defend their cultural liberty (Figure 81).

The powerful pressure / influence of **winka** (non-Mapuche) ideology, that since the beginnings of historical times of the Araucanos has been present as a constant threat that causes profound social and cultural change to Mapuche society, has forced that society to be continuously on guard of its system of beliefs whose axis is **Ngenechen**. In the opressive influence of diverse religious systems which continue to pressure strongly the Mapuches so they will accept celestialization, there emerges the powerful voice of Huenun Ñamku who categorically affirms:

> **"Our people should continue to conduct the nguillatun**
> **even though we are now Christians.**
> **Everything is becoming worse and worse**
> **for the Mapuches."**
>
> Hilger, 1966:81.

The thought "*...even though we are now Christians.*" is the echo of the voices of the **kuifiches**, the Araucanian ancestors, who, from their spiritual abode or **Pillañ**, implore to **Ngenechen** for its help in the revitalization of the continuity and perenniality of all Mapuche values. Those values, centralized in the **admapu**, or customs of the land, define the Mapuches as a society which bears and protects the ancient Araucanian monotheistic beliefs; beliefs that, until the present, have resisted stoically the insistent, powerful, and alienating influence of ideologies completely foreign to the ethnicity of that culture.

Those ideologies have attempted to destroy the formative roots of Mapuche ideology as the best method to integrate that society to the dominant social majority. As the axial substratum of this thesis, I wish to repeat here the words of Huenun Ñamku (Hilger, 1966:66) who, after burying one of his uncles, thought:

> "On my way home from the burial
> I thought of our old religious beliefs
> and of our old way of speaking to Chau.
> I said to myself: 'Where is my relative now?
> Has he gone to the heaven of the huincas?
> Has he gone to Pillañ where our people go
> when they die?'"

The response to the reflection of Ñamku is in the hands, in the mind, in the spirit, and in the soul of every one of the members of Mapuche society.

Figure 80. With the purpose of giving thanks for the permission provided by Elicia Lemunao for the taking of the present photograph, the author appears in this scene paying the **chemamull**. I paid with four coins which I left in interstices of one of the two chemamull that presently constitute the altar of the **nguillatuwe** of Llamuco (province of Cautín, Chile).
(Photograph by Haroldo Zamorano Ramírez, 1989).

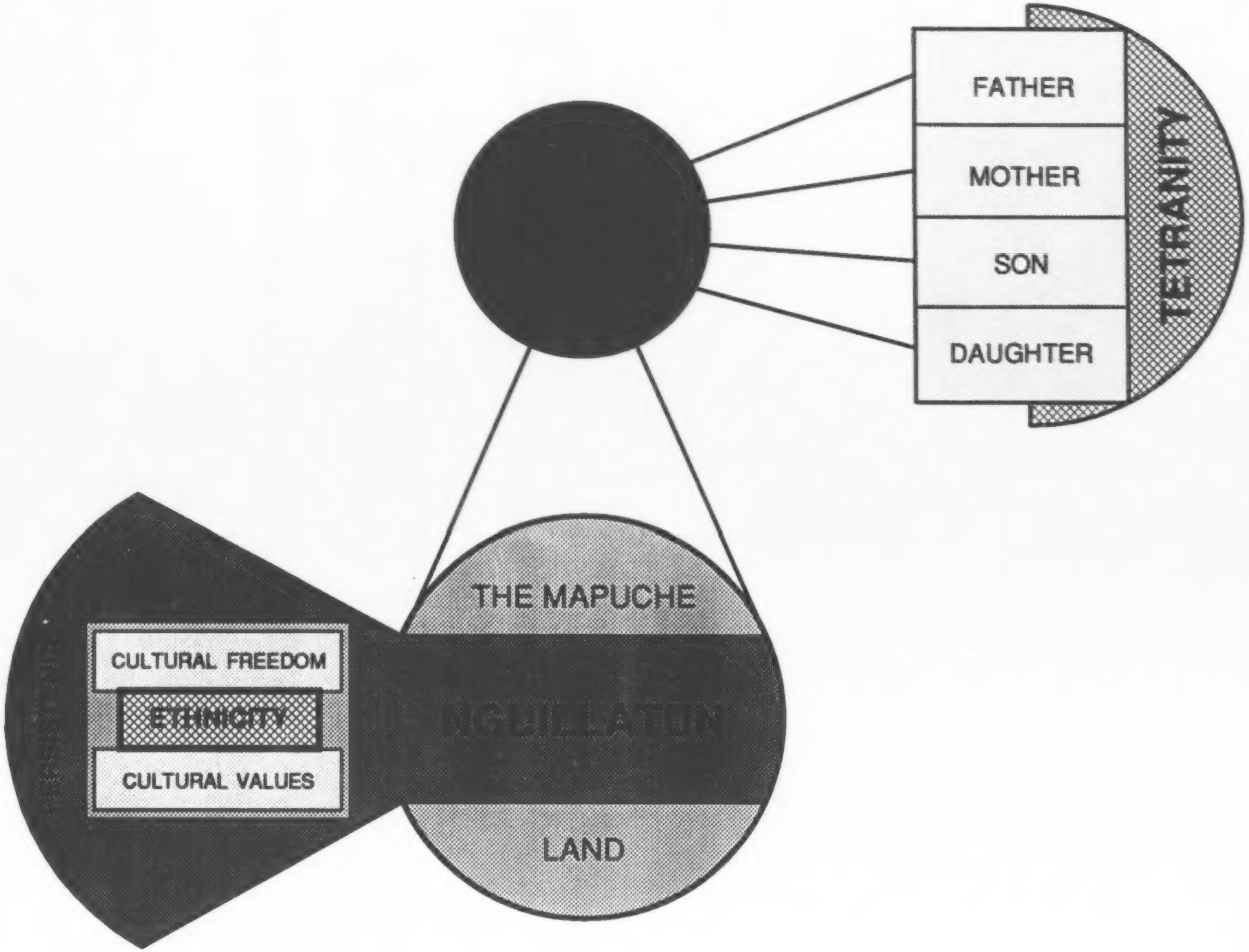

FATHER
MOTHER
SON
DAUGHTER
TETRANITY
THE MAPUCHE
NGUILLATUN
LAND
CULTURAL FREEDOM
ETHNICITY
CULTURAL VALUES

FIGURE **81** NGENECHEN AS THE SUPREME AXIS OF THE MAPUCHE CULTURE.

OMAR CASTRO GATICA - 1988

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APPENDIX 1

Denominations of the Mapuche deity

Since first contact with the "conquistadores," the Mapuches have incorporated into their own language or Mapudungun Spanish words, an idiomatic assimilation process that still continues. In the following list of names with which Mapuche society designates its divinity, the words **Dios** and **Rey** are included, words which the Mapuches integrated into their ideology as they considered them appropriate to determine the powers and attributes of their deity. It is necessary to point out that the concepts the Mapuches use to name and to establish communication with Ngenechen are in full force.

1.- Curi Agne Cushe Domo Guenechen.
2.- Curi Agne Fucha Huentru Guenechen.
3.- Curi Agne Hueche Huentru Guenechen.
4.- Curi Agne Ilcha Domo Guenechen.
5.- Cushe Domo Guenechen.
6.- Chachay Ngenechen.
7.- Chao.
8.- Chao Dios.
9.- Chao Ngenechen.
10.- Chau.
11.- Chau Dios.
12.- Chau Elchefe.
13.- Chau Ngenechen.
14.- Deumachefe Fucha.
15.- Deumachefe Kushe.

16.- Dios Elchefe.

17.- Dios Fucha.

18.- Dios Kushe.

19.- Domo Guenechen.

20.- Elchekelu.

21.- Elchefe Fucha.

22.- Elchefe Kushe.

23.- Eluma.

24.- Epuange.

25.- Epu Agne Fucha Wentru Ngenechen.

26.- Flan Agne Fucha Wentru.

27.- Flan Agne Hueche Huentro Guenechen.

28.- Flan Agne Ilcha Domo Guenechen.

29.- Flan Agne Kushe Domo.

30.- Fucha Chao.

31.- Fucha Chau.

32.- Fucha Wentro Guenechen.

33.- Fucha Wentru.

34.- Huentru - Guenechen.

35.- Ilcha Domo.

36.- Ilcha Domo Guenechen.

37.- Kallfuwenu.

38.- Kallfu Rey Chau.

39.- Kallfu Rey Ñuke.

40.- Kuse Ñuke.

41.- Kushepelli.

42.- Kushe Domo.

43.- Mapungenechen.

44.- Ngenechen.

45.- Ngenenmapu.

46.- Ngenfillemm.

47.- Ngenko.

48.- Ngenkulliñ.

49.- Ngenmawida.

50.- Nguencachilla.

51.- Nguencutran.

52.- Nguenhua.

53.- Nguenlavquen.

54.- Nguentalca.

55.- Nunemapun.

56.- Papai - Guenechen.

57.- Ragnin Wenu Chau.

58.- Ragnin Wenu Ñuke.

59.- Rey Fucha.

60.- Rey Kushe.

61.- Trañmaleufu.

62.- Ulmen Kushepelli.

63.- Weche Guenechen.

64.- Weche Wentru Guenechen.

65.- Wenumapu Dios.

66.- Wenu Rey Fucha.

67.- Wenu Rey Kushe.

68.- Wuincoleufu.

APPENDIX 2

Mapucheland: flora and fauna

The following list of names, in **Mapudungun**, Spanish, and its corresponding scientific denominations, corresponds to presently existing plants, animals, and birds. This list constitutes only a brief synthesis of the exuberant and varied flora and fauna that characterized the land of the Mapuches in the past.

ALIWEN (trees)

Fol·o = boldo (*Boldoa fragrans* or *Peumus boldus*)

Foye = canelo (*Drimys winteri*).

Keuli = queule (*Ademostemum nitidum* or *Gomortega nitida*).

Kël·on = maqui (*Aristotelia maqui* or *chilensis*).

Kiaka = tiaca or quiaca (*Caldcluvia paniculata*).

Koiwe = coihue (*Nothofagus dombeyi*).

Kollimamëll = arrayán (*Luma apiculata*).

Koyam (**walle** = young tree; **pelliñ** = adult tree) = roble (*Nothofagus obliqua*).

Küllai = quillay (*Quillaya saponaria*).

Ligne = lingue (*Persea lingue*).

Litri = litre (*Litraea venenosa*).

Luma = luma (*Myrtus luma*).

Lleuke = lleuque (*Podocarpus andina*).

Maiten = maitén (*Maytenus boaria*).

Mañiu = mañío (*Saxegothea conspicua* and *Podocarpus chilina*).

Ngëfü = avellano (*Guevina avellana*).

Ngire = ñirre (*Nothofagus pumilio* or *Nothofagus antarctica*).

Ngulngu = ulmo or muermo (*Eucryphia cordifolia*).

Pegnu = peumo (*Cryptocarya peumus* or *Cryptocarya alba*).

Pewen = araucaria (*Araucaria araucana*).

Pitra = pitra (*Myrceugenia pitra*).

Raral = radal (*Lomatica obliqua*).

Ruili = raulí (*Nothofagus procera* or *Nothofagus alpina*).

Temu = temo (*Eugenia temu*).

Teniu = tineo, tinel or palo santo (*Weinmannia trichosperma*).

Tepu = tepu (*Tepualia stipularis*).

Treike = sauce chileno (*Salix humboldtiana*).

Triwe = laurel (*Pavonia sempervirens* or *Laurelia aromatica*).

Tüke = olivillo or tique (*Aextixicum punctatum*).

PICHIMAMËLL, FOKI AND KACHU (shrubs, binweeds, and grasses)

Chakaiwa = chacay (*Colletia doniana*).

Chillko = chilco (*Fuchsia macrostemma*).

Defekono = malva del monte (*Hytrocotyle poeppigii*).

Ifëlkoñ = huévil (*Vestia lycioides*).

Kachanl·awen· = cachanlahue (*Eritrea chilensis*).

Kawen = espino (*Acacia cavenia*).

Koleu = poleo (*Mentha citrata*).

Kolkopiu = copihue (*Lapageria rosea*).

Kül·a = quila (*Chusquea quila*).

Kulen = culén (*Psoralea glandulosa*).

Latuwe = latué or árbol de los brujos (*Latua venenosa*).

Lin = ratonera (*Hierochloe altissima* and *utriculata*).

Llaweñ or kelleñ = frutilla (*Fragaria chilensis*).

Llinglling = salvia (*Sphacele lindleyi*).

Mëchai = michai (*Berberis darvini*).

Miaya = chamico, estramonio or espinosa (*Dature stramonium*).

Molikachu = moll (*Cyperus longus*).

Napur = yuyo (*Brassica campestris*).

Natrëng = natri (*Solanum crispum*).

Nüpufoki = voqui blanco (*Lardizabala biternata*).

Nüyu = chupón (*Greigia sphacelata*).

Ñocha = ñocha (*Bromelia / Fascicularia/ landbechii*).

Palki = palqui (*Cestrum palqui*).

Palngiñ = palguín or matico (*Buddleia globosa*).

Paupauweñ = quilineja or esparto (*Luzuriaga radicans*).

Pëllpëllfoki = pilpilvoqui (*Boquila trifoliata*).

Pichëng = paico (*Ambrina ambrosioides* and *pinnatisecta*).

Pilun·weke = llantén (*Plantago lanceolata*).

Rëlfün = relvún (*Relbunium hypocarpicum* and *Galium chilense*).

Rëngi = colihue (*Chusquea coleu*).

Tangawaso = mastuerzo or lepidio silvestre (*Lepidium latifolium*).

Trapi = ají (*Capsicum annuum*).

Trarumamëll = sauco del diablo (*Pseudopanax laetevirens*).

Trëke = trique or callecalle (*Libertia elegans* and *ixioides*).

Troipoko = berro (*Cardamine nasturtioides*).

Üñü = murta (*Myrtus ugni. Myrtus meli. Myrtus valdiviana*).

Ütriu = quintral or visco (*Phrygilanthus tetrandus*).

Walëmraki = chépica (*Paspalum vaginatum*).

Wallpütra = hualputa (*Medicago maculata*).

Wella = huella (*Abutilon vitifolium*).

Weñangwe = viravira or bálsamo del campo (*Gnaphalium viravira*).

Yëlweiu = coirón (*Andropogon, Festuca, Melica*).

KULLIÑ (animals)

Daqllu = camarón (*Parastacus chilensis*).

Dewü = ratón (*Mus ruttas* and *decumanus*).

Filu = culebra (*Tachymenis peruviana* and *Dromicus chamissonis*).

Fillkuñ = lagartija (*Liolaemus chilensis*).

Koipu = coipo (*Myocastor coipus*).

Kulpeu = zorro grande or culpeu (*Canis* or *Pseudolopex magellanicus*).

Ngerü = zorro or chilla (*Canis* or *Pseudolopex azarae*).

Mara = liebre de la cordillera (*Lagotis trichodactylus*).

Pangui, trapial = puma or león chileno (*Felis puma*).

Pinüike = murciélago (*Desmodus rufus* or *Vampyrus spectrum*).

Püdu = venado chileno (*Pudua humilis*).

Shañi = chingue (*Conepatus chilensis*).

Trewa = perro (*Canis familiaris*).

Trewanke = escorpión (*Centrurus margaritatus*).

Truwi = vizcacha (*Lagodium peruanum*).

Wakaq = rana grande (*Calyptocephalus gayi*).

Wiña = gato montés (*Felis guigna*).

Wiyufilu = ciempiés (*Hemiscolopendra chilensis*).

ÜÑËM (birds)

Achawall (gallina), **alka achawall** = gallo (*Gallus ferrugineus*).

Chedkeñ = chircán (*Troglodytes platensis* and *musculus*).

Chiukü = tiuque (*Milvago chimango*).

Chiwĕd = lechuza (*Strix flammea*).

Chukau = chucao (*Pteroptochus*).

Kamtrü = rara (*Phytotoma rara*).

Kanin = jote (*Rhinogryphus aura*).

Kĕreu = tordo (*Agelaeus curaeus* or *Curaeus aterrimus*).

Ketru = pato (*Tachyeres cinereus*).

Kilkil = chuncho (*Glaucidium nanum*).

Konkon = concón (*Syrnium hylophilum*).

Kono = torcaza or paloma araucana (*Columba araucana*).

Loika = loica (*Sturmella militaris* or *Leistes superciliaris*).

Maikoño = tôrtola (*Zenaida auriculata*).

Mañke = cóndor (*Sarcorhamphus gryphus*).

Ñamku = aguilucho (*Buteo erythronctus*).

Okori = peuco (*Buteo unicinctus*).

Pĕchiu = pitihue (*Colaptes pitius*).

Pekeñ = mochuelo (*Noctua cunicularia*).

Pideñ = pidên (*Rallus rythyrynchus*).

Pilpilen = pilpilen (*Haematopus palliatus*).

Rere = carpintero (*Campophilus magellanicus*).

Shĕllo = perdiz chilena (*Nothura perdicaria*).

Shilqeñ = cachaña (*Conurus erythrofrons*).

Traru = traro (*Polyborus trarus*).

Trawatrawa = tagua (*Fulica rufifrons* and *ardesiaca*).

Tregle, treqĕll or queltehue = treile or queltehue (*Belonopterus chilensis* or *Vanellus cayenensis*).

Trĕkau = loro grande or papagayo (*Conurus patagonicus*).

Wala = huala (*Aechmophorus major*).

Waqda = guairavo (*Nycticorax cyanocephalus*).

Wilki = zorzal (*Turdus fuscater* or *Planesticus magellanicus*).

Wiyu = fiofio (*Elainea albiceps*).

APPENDIX 3

Evil spirits of midday: the encounter with the Añchimallen

Mapuche cosmology has ascribed to the interval between 12:00 A.M. and 2:00 P.M. the quality of diabolical time. At midday in Mapucheland, some servants of the forces of evil objectify their forms as human beings or hybrid entities. One of those servants is the **añchimallen** that, at midday, appears in the shape of an elf or a small human being. This being plays with those children who, totally alien to the harmful effects a malignant entity may cause, have gone out of their homes to play in the fields. The Mapuches designate the encounter with that small being as **trafentui añchimallen**, an encounter that, according to Rosa Chihuaihuén (cited by Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:58), has the following characteristics:

> Why does it come about?
>
> > At midday the sun stands still because it is too hot; the little devil comes out at this time to play with children. Then if a child goes out to play at midday, the añchimallen plays with him/her.
>
> How is it recognized?
>
> > Children become scared at night; they scream, cry, and vomit.

The interactions that some human societies have established between the flora/fauna and belief systems is called biocosmology. To Mapuche society, the relation flora/fauna - belief constitutes one of the bases of the ideology of that society. It is in this manner that in a situation related to the appearance of the añchimallen to a child, the machi (priestess / Mapuche healer) applies her biocosmological knowledge with which she returns good health and tranquility to that child. In view of this situation/encounter, Rosa Chihuaihuén, one of the women knowing the power of biocosmology, prepares the following remedy with which she can heal a child who is sick due to the appearance of the añchimallen:

Herbs to use.

huevil (*Vestia lycioides*) = 1 fistful of leaves.

tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) = 1 leaf.

Preparation.

Infusión. The huevil leaves are placed in a container and boiling water is poured over them.

Friction. Huevil and tobacco are heated in a **cayana** or **kallana** (container used to toast grain - Moesbach, 1978:42). If only huevil is used, the heated leaves are mixed with a small amount of strong urine, of an adult; and this is rubbed onto the entire body of the patient. These are "**contra**" (conjure) so that the añchimallen does not approach the children.

Rosa Chihuaihuén (cited by
Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:58).

APPENDIX 4

Evil spirits of midday: the encounter with the Huecuwe

To Mapuche society, the **huecuwe** or **wekufe** is the devil who centralizes all the power of the forces of evil. According to the Mapuche belief system, the wekufe may take a variety of forms with which it can make itself visible. One of the preferred moments by the devil to appear to humans and to cause them harm is midday. Between 12:00 A.M. and 2:00 P.M., that evil being emerges into Mapucheland as a whirlwind, which, with its constant rotation and rapid displacement, pursues and terrorizes any person it surprises while walking on the fields during this dark time of the day. This encounter is known in Mapudungun or Mapuche language as **trafentui huekuwe**, an encounter that produces a degree of illness in the person having the experience. Rosa Cabrera, one of the Mapuche women who knows the magic power of plants (biocosmology) of Mapucheland, summarizes in the following manner the cause and the effect of that illness and at the same time the adequate treatment:

Why does it come about?

> When a person goes out at midday and a whirlwind appears: the huecuwe is passing by; the huecuwe chases him/her, the person becomes scared.

How is it recognized?

> The person becomes scared, agitated, and perspires profusely.

Herb to use:

> Malva del monte (*Hydrocotyle poepii*) = scrapings of the stalk.

Preparation.

> Juice: the stalks of the malva are scraped; the scrapings are

rubbed with water or **meao** (urine) of a young child (approximately 5 years old), because the meaos of children are not strong as is the case in adults.

Treatment.

The juice is given to drink in a wine glass twice a day, once before breakfast and once at night, until the person feels better. The first drinks are prepared with the meao; later they are prepared with water.

Rosa Cabrera (cited by Montecino and Conejeros, 1985:59).

APPENDIX 5

The Mapuche Elves

The Mapuches believe in the existence of elf-like beings. Mapuche tradition assigns those small beings the following characteristics:

a) They play with children. On many occasions, the elves join a group of children, who, unconcerned and happily, accept them as "new and unknown" playmates.

b) The elves play in the fields, completely disarranging the place where they have played.

c) In spring, they choose some areas in the wheat fields as a preferred location for their games; areas they leave in disorder and flattened.

d) Some elves are mischievous, happy and playful; others act negatively with human beings. Some Mapuche parents have had the unpleasant experience that upon waking, they discover their baby has disappeared from his/her cradle. In desperation, they look for their son whom they find in the middle of a sown field or at the edge of a precipice: an elf has stolen the baby and has left him/her in that dangerous place.

The Mapuches present the following proof of the existence of elves:

a) Many men and women remember that in their childhood they played with "other children" whom they did not know and had never seen before. Upon finishing the game, those "unknown children" disappeared; and, in some cases narrated by those adults, never returned.

b) The elves produce very special sounds, such as strident whistles, that have been heard by the Mapuches.

c) On many occasions, the peasants find elf excrement left by a tree or in the grass.

d) The Mapuches have precise words to identify the different elves that live in Mapucheland. These names are: **trĕkauko** or **pilinn**, **yŭfēnche**, **fukuñche**, and **aukiñko**.

Alonqueo (1985) is one of the Mapuche authors who more precisely has registered experiences related with the elves. Based on his experiences, I will summarize his principal ideas referring to those slippery small beings:

* **Trĕkauco** or **pilinn** - charming, amusing elf who enjoys enamoring young women. Single women cannot go out of their homes alone towards the ravine or towards the dense forests where the trĕkauko lives; an elf that would pursue them with persistent claims of love.
* **Yŭfēnche** - it appears from fog or mist; it plays **chueca** (Mapuche sport) in the meadows and clearings of the forest and in the ravines; it is the Mapuche pluviometer.
  One or two days before it rains, it announces water through its singing: "wek, wek, wek."
* **Fukuñche** - For having been born with a diseased liver, rachitic and anemic, its mother had abandoned it in the interior of a forest. Trĕkauko would pick it up and take care of it. If it died, it would inter it in the upper part of a spring with the objective that single mothers would drink the contaminated water and thus would not be able to have healthy children. It was vengeance from Trĕkauko towards the inattention, indifference, neglect, and irresponsibility of those mothers who abandon their children.

- **Aukiñko** (echo) - It is the imitating, jocular, burlesque, and amusing elf who inhabits the ravines of dense forests. It is an invisible being. It only presents itself invisibly, dancing from one point to another or from one ravine to another, when it appears, imitating the cries, yelling, singing, conversations, bleating, and the warbling of singing birds. It is the delight of children for whom aukiñko repeats all the words and sounds they utter.

Alonqueo, 1985:113-14.